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THE STORY OF A GREAT REFORM.

THE fourth centenary of the Papal approbation of the great reform of the Franciscan Order, known as the Capuchin Reform, will doubtless call attention to one of the most vigorous of the many reform movements which helped to renovate the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. The history of the part taken by the Capuchin Franciscans in the stemming of the tide of heresy and the renewal of Catholic life itself has yet to be written: but contemporary historians of the Protestant revolt, both Catholics and Protestants, have paid eloquent tribute to the heroic work of the Capuchins in saving the Faith, especially in Italy, Germany, Switzerland, and France —whilst at the same time they embarked upon vigorous missionary work in Asia, Africa, and America. In all these ventures for the Faith they worked side by side with the Society of Jesus, emulating in daring and tireless activity the heroic endeavors of the new Society.

It was on 3 July, 1528—whilst St. Ignatius was yet preparing himself for his life-work in the schools of Paris—that the Capuchin Reform was solemnly sanctioned by Pope Clement VII. At that time the Reform numbered about a dozen members; all, except one, Franciscan Observant friars by original profession. Amongst them were Fra Matteo da Bascio, Lodovico da Fossombrone, the energetic organizer of the band, and Paolo da Chioggia who before joining himself to the new Reform had already formed a society of friars whose aim was to live in strictest Franciscan poverty.

The beginnings of the Reform are vested with romance and adventure. No one man can be said to be its creator. All

three whose names we have mentioned began their adventure separately and coalesced by sympathy with each other's aspiration; shortly afterward they were joined by a group of friars in Calabria who had already started a reform movement amongst the Franciscan Observants in those parts. But the great adhesion to the new Reform came in 1534 when several of the leaders of the reforming Observants, afterward known as Riformati, went over to the Capuchins together with many of their followers. The circumstances leading to the adhesion of these Riformati it was that consolidated the Capuchin Reform and gave it stability. At the start neither Matteo da Bascio nor Lodovico da Fossombrone, nor the Calabrian friars had wished to separate from the Observant family of the Franciscan Order. Their original purpose, like that of many others amongst the Observants, had been to start a reform within the Observant family itself. All they claimed was the liberty to observe the Rule of St. Francis with a greater simplicity and strictness, and to this end they sought permission from the Pope to separate from the laxer life of the ordinary communities and to live apart, but under the jurisdiction of the Observant Superiors.

Vigorous opposition on the part of the Observant Superiors had next driven them, with the authority of the Holy See, to separate from the Observant family and place themselves under the protection and jurisdiction of the General of the Conventual Franciscans. When in 1528 Clement VII approved of the Reform as a new congregation within the Franciscan Order, the Capuchins were given a Vicar-General of their own choosing, but with dependence on the General of the Conventuals, in the same way as prior to 1517 the Vicar-General of the Observants had been dependent on the Conventuals. To this arrangement, however, the Observant Superiors were strongly opposed; the more so as Observant friars eager for reform were constantly passing over to the Capuchins.[1] The opposition to the Capuchins which thus grew up came from two quarters within the Observant family. Those Observants who were opposed to Reform resented the existence of the Capuchin congregation, as they resented all

[1] The bull of 3 July, 1528, granted the Capuchins all the privileges accorded to the Camaldolese hermits, one of which was to receive religious from other Orders even though the Superiors of those Orders refused their consent.

efforts at reform; whilst many of the Observants who were working for reform, saw in the separation of the Capuchins a weakening of the reform movement within the Observant family.

In 1532 the leaders of the reforming Observants, called Riformati, made a strenuous effort to bring about a reform within the Observant family, which would absorb the new Capuchin congregation: virtually the Observants were to be divided into Reformed Observants living the stricter life and friars of the Community who accepted a milder interpretation of the Rule: all indeed governed by the same major superiors, but the Riformati by local superiors of their own choosing. Clement VII actually issued a brief enjoining this arrangement; and it was understood that when the arrangement came into effect the Capuchins would reunite with the Reformed Observants. But the evil genius which had already thwarted attempted reforms within the Observant family again thwarted this movement of the Riformati. This time the evil genius was embodied in the Minister General, Paolo Pisotti. Had the Pope's decree been put into effect there is little doubt that the Capuchins as a separate congregation would have ceased to exist. But Pisotti, the enemy of all reform, intrigued to bring about a postponement of the decreed arrangement—and when at the end of 1533 he was deposed by the Pope because of his maladministration, the government of the Order fell into the hands of a Vicar-General who either lacked the power or the will to assist the Reform movement. Disillusioned and convinced that no reform movement had any chance of success within the Observant family, Bernardino d'Asti and Francesco da Jesi—two of the leading spirits amongst the Reformati —now went over to the Capuchins; and they were followed by a large number of their followers and others who sympathized with them, some of them men famous as preachers or administrators and many of them of reputed sanctity.

This migration of so many of their men caused consternation amongst the Observant friars: not a few feared that the whole reform movement would break away and join the new Capuchin Congregation and it is possible such might have been the case had not Pope Paul III hindered the migration by successive edicts. That feeling should run high on the part of the Ob-

servant community against the Capuchins is hardly to be wondered at: and during the following twenty years efforts were made to bring about the suppression of the new Reform or to force the Capuchins to rejoin the Observants. The Capuchins refused to reunite, mainly on the ground that if they did so there was no guarantee that their reform would not suffer the fate of other reform movements within the Observant family and be brought to nought. To-day looking back upon that refusal, all the Franciscan families may well rejoice: for it was the vigorous determination of the Capuchins to preserve their liberty for a stricter observance of the Rule which gradually brought about the long-desired reform of the whole Observant family; as well as of the Conventuals. It forced the Superiors of these congregations to take action and to encourage reform movements within their jurisdiction if for no other reason than to save the loss of the more zealous friars and communities who would otherwise have migrated to the Capuchins.

Without doubt, the secession of the American colonies saved the idea of political liberty for the whole English race and led to a saner statesmanship on the part of the English Crown toward the colonies that did not break away; so it may be said that the Capuchin secession from the Observants led to the renovation of the Observant family of Friars Minor: gradually instead of hindering reform movements as had been repeatedly the case, the policy of the governing body came to be one of encouragement and the granting of such liberties and safeguards as would secure the reformed communities in their stricter observance; and so not only did the sixteenth century witness the growth of semi-autonomous reformed congregations within the family of the Observants—the Riformati, the Discalciati, and Recollets—but the Observants outside these bodies returned more nearly to the original Observant discipline which in the first part of the sixteenth century, especially in Italy, had become much relaxed. And with this general policy of the Observants toward reform, the Conventuals too were forced to reorganize their discipline. And so it was that the existence of the Capuchin Congregation infused new life and energy into the whole Franciscan Order. The Venerable Francis Gonzaga, Minister-General of the Observants in 1578-1587, in his work *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis* (ed. 1589,

p. 61) evidently thus regarded the Capuchin Reform when he enumerated it as one of the signs of God's loving care for the Order of Friars Minor.

It is one of the ironies of history that the Capuchin friars who were to be one of the most powerful agents in the hands of Divine Providence for the stemming of the tide of heresy and the saving of the Catholic Faith, should amongst the many tribulations in which their Reform was tried "as by fire", have been at one moment suspected of sympathy with the new Lutheran heresy and in danger of being suppressed. The charge was entirely groundless except as regarded a handful of their members. Their fourth Vicar-General, Bernardino Ochino, the most popular preacher of his time in Italy, unhappily was led astray by "the new teaching," and in 1542, when he was at the height of his fame, suddenly abandoned his Order and the Church and went over to Geneva. His apostasy spread consternation throughout the whole of Italy. As one writer of the time said: "It was as though an angel from heaven had fallen:" so great was his reputation not only as a powerful preacher but as a man of irreproachable uprightness and austerity of life. At that very time rumor was rife that he was to be created a cardinal. Paul III held him in the highest esteem: cardinals and bishops and the magistrates of the cities of Italy vied with each other to obtain his services as a preacher. After his flight it was discovered that he had infected some of his religious brethren in the Province of Venice with his errors. Some of these had accepted his teaching in good faith and immediately on realizing its heretical character humbly submitted and sought absolution. A few followed him in his flight. In the reaction of feeling which followed the fall of the popular idol, the Pope determined to suppress the whole Capuchin congregation—though there was hardly a religious Order in the Church which at that moment was not sorrowing over the apostasy of some of its more famous preachers.

That the Capuchins should in this way be chosen for exceptional treatment was doubtless in part due to the prëeminent fame of the apostate Ochino: but Ochino's fall was now taken as confirmation of a slanderous charge that had already been aimed at the Capuchins by their enemies. This charge needs some explanation: its basis was the very quality

in the Capuchin life which was to make the Capuchin Order one of the strongest arms of the Church in the hour of its great need. Of all the causes which led up to the Protestant revolt and gave it a plausible justification in the minds of a large mass of people, was the unspiritual externalism which had displaced the true spirit of piety not only amongst Catholics at large but even in the cloisters. The Capuchin Reform was one of those reactions of the Catholic spirit against this unspiritual externalism which were eventually to renovate the Church. In their own lives the Capuchins adopted a stern simplicity as against the ceremoniousness then common in the cloisters; more intent on the cultivation of mental prayer than on the outward ceremonial of religion, their choir services were of the simplest sort; they eschewed High Masses and elaborate services; they recited the divine office in a monotone; in their churches as in their friaries they bore witness to the poverty they professed. They preferred to serve the sick in the hospitals and attend the prisoners in the gaols, to taking part in the pageantry of a religious procession. In a word they were more concerned with the spiritual realities than with the outward show; in which they stood in sharp contrast with the fashion of the day. What easier than to denounce these unconventional friars as Lutherans and heretics? Were not the Lutherans decrying the ceremonies of the Church? Were they not teaching some pestiferous doctrine of the spirit? Were they not ungodly innovators upsetting the minds of the people with their denunciations of the easy lives of the monks? One needed but half an eye to see through the vaunted austerity and laborious lives of these Capuchins, with their parade of extreme poverty and their little regard for the outward things of religion.

It sounds rather absurd to-day, yet such were the insinuations of heresy pointed at the friars by their more supercilious opponents. And in the consternation caused by Ochino's fall even the friends of the Capuchins began to waver in their belief in them. Only the cool judgment of Cardinal Sanseverino saved them from extinction. "We have witnessed their virtuous lives" he boldly told the Pope, "and the marvellous fruits of their labors for the good of souls; they were as a fair and fruitful field until this Ochino sowed tares amongst the wheat. Let us beware lest in uprooting the tares

we destroy the good wheat to the injury of the Church. Make inquiry amongst them before you condemn them." The Pope caused inquiry to be made and the Capuchin Order was saved. In fact no more convincing defence need have been made than the work they had already done in Milan and other cities of Italy by their propagation of the Devotion of the Quarantore as a means of renovating the religious spirit of the people. Already they were proving their mettle as saviours of Italy from the increasing infection of heresy. Four years before Ochino's fall, Vittoria Colonna, that intrepid defender of the Capuchins in earlier dangers, had written to Paul III: "If your Holiness would know what these poor friars are doing for the saving of the people, for the revival of religion and the stemming of heresy, send two commissioners through all the cities of Italy and you will learn that your Holiness has no more faithful servants and sons and no more efficacious workers for the cause of our holy religion."

The activity of the Capuchins was marvellous: even then they were to be found everywhere in Italy preaching and working for the good of the people. Wherever they went they united the service of the evangelical works of mercy, temporal as well as spiritual, with the preaching of the Gospel; serving in the hospitals and prisons, comforting those in sorrow, even questing for the hungry. No work of mercy was alien to their apostolate; and for that reason perhaps their preaching was the more willingly listened to. It was again as in the days of St. Francis when the Franciscan evangelists nursed the lepers and were brothers in practical charity with all in need. In truth the Capuchin family may be said to have been born in the plague-infested streets of Camerino when the first four Capuchins nursed the sick, fed the starving and buried the dead, when they were not administering the last Sacraments to the dying and preparing a soul for death. And yet these friars, active as they were in the apostolate of the word and of the deed, were hermits by profession. The very name by which they came to be known in contradistinction to other Franciscans, indicates as much, for Capuchin — originally Scappuzzino — was the popular Italian designation of a hermit. The notion of a hermit-apostle active in deeds of mercy is perhaps strange to most Catholics to-day, since most people

confuse the hermit with the solitary. Most people too who are well acquainted with the Orders of Carmelites, Augustinian friars and Servites, are unaware that these Orders are properly eremitical Orders. The Franciscan Order, too, in its historical genesis is derived through the genius of St. Francis on one side from the Penitential fraternity of the Middle Ages and on the other from the ancient hermit-community; hence the original Franciscan places were usually termed hermitages. The Capuchin Reform, like all other Franciscan reforms, laid stress on the eremitical element in the Franciscan vocation; and like all other Franciscan Reforms, they too originally styled their dwelling-places hermitages as distinct from monastic or conventual establishments, proper to the monks and canons-regular. What it meant in practice was that they lived in smaller communities and in their home-life gave themselves more to the practice of contemplative prayer than to ceremonial worship, and gave a larger freedom for individual service than was common in the more highly-organized community. The "hermitage", too, in its general atmosphere, suggested a greater austerity and simplicity in the matter of material comfort in keeping with the eremitical vocation. From these hermitages the hermit-evangelists went forth to preach and work for the good of the people, alternating active service with periods devoted to the cultivation of the contemplative life. At first the Capuchin friaries were very small after the manner of the original Franciscan friaries; when the increasing number of friars necessitated larger houses, the simplicity and poverty was still the enforced rule, as can be seen to-day in the early friaries at Camerino and Bigorio and elsewhere.[2]

For nearly fifty years the Capuchins labored in Italy before they were allowed by the Holy See to establish houses or missions beyond the Alps. During this half-century the small band of four friars who had nursed the sick in the plague-stricken city of Camerino in 1527 had increased to several thousand friars, organized into twenty provinces covering the whole of Italy. Stability had finally been given to the hard-tried congregation in 1560 when the Vicar-General of the

[2] Similarly the early friaries of the Observant Reform established by Saint Bernardine of Siena, as for instance the *Carceri* near Assisi, retained the eremitical character of the first Observant hermitages in which that Reform was nurtured.

Order[3] was invited to the Council of Trent and given a place amongst the Generals of the mendicant Orders. By that time none could deny the marvellous success they had achieved in regenerating the Faith and piety of the Italian people and rooting out the menace of Protestantism. Their achievement was evident to all. And the means by which they had mainly achieved success, next after the example of their lives, was by instructing the people in the mysteries of the Faith they professed and fostering the habit of mental prayer. In their sermons they eschewed rhetoric and the flowery oratory commonly cultivated by the preachers of the time; their eloquence came from their fervor of spirit, but above all they sought to convey solid instruction. They had been accused of ignoring the obligation and value of external religion in their sermons; this was untrue. What they did ignore was the outward pageantry and practices which meant little or nothing to the spiritual life and which had so largely taken the place of the true sacramental worship of the Church. They stressed the obligation of the Catholic Christian to hear Mass with inward devotion, to approach regularly and worthily the Sacraments of the Holy Eucharist and Confession, to pray not merely with the lips but with the mind and heart. They insisted too that "the works" most pleasing to God were the works of mercy set forth in the Gospel. It explains much the easy inroads of heresy which for a time menaced the whole of northern Italy, that the Capuchin insistence on these "realities" of religion should have given a color of suspicion of their orthodoxy, and that to not a few it seemed "favoring the heretics".[4] Yet as was eventually proved, it was this very instruction and insistence on the real obligations of a Catholic which renovated the religious life of Italy. The books of instruction published

[3] The Capuchins were governed by Vicars nominally dependent on the Minister-General of the Conventual Franciscans until 1619, when the Vicar-General was given the title of Minister-General and an equal status and jurisdiction with the other two Ministers-General of the Observant and Conventual Franciscans.

[4] The writer recalls a certain incident which occurred in Italy before Pius X insisted on the Italian clergy giving regular instruction to the people at the Sunday Mass. It was a gathering of priests, all of them worthy men. A suggestion had been made that it would be for the religious benefit of the people if a short sermon were preached at the Sunday Masses. The reply was: "We feel it would be good and useful, but if we begin it, they will think we are Modernists!"

by Capuchin preachers of the sixteenth century are interesting as throwing light on the methods they adopted to arouse and deepen the spiritual life. Remember they had to deal with a people to whom religion had become mainly lip-service. How for instance did the preacher Padre Christoforo Verucchino take the matter in hand? Every day after Vespers during his Lenten courses, the people were called together and word by word or sentence by sentence he explained the prayers they commonly used, paraphrasing for instance each petition of the Lord's Prayer, so as to bring out its spiritual significance and allusions. To the people thus taught the prayers meant something both for mind and heart. When he had taught them thus to say their daily prayers, he in a similar fashion taught them to prepare for Confession and Communion; and at the end—having led them onward—he taught them to meditate on the life and Passion of our Lord.

Reference has been made to the Capuchin propagation of the devotion of the Quarantore. This devotional exercise became a more or less regular incident in their Lenten courses of sermons; though not confined to Lent. The devotion as fostered by the Capuchins was frequently held in all the churches of the city in which they were preaching; sometimes in all the churches at the same time, sometimes in the different churches consecutively. Before the devotion began the people were instructed in the object for which it was held, the adoration of our Divine Lord in His Passion; they were not only instructed; they were led through certain preparatory spiritual exercises whereby their mind and heart might be attuned to the act of adoration they were about to perform. During the devotion the preacher at the beginning of each hour set before his audience a brief meditation on the Passion concluding with appropriate suggestions of affective prayer. The devotion usually concluded with a general Communion. The result, says a witness of the devotion at Piacenza in 1617, was "that Piacenza was spiritually reborn". Sinners went weepingly to the confessional; the virtuous were constrained to yet higher virtue; enemies met and embraced and laid aside long-drawn out enmities for the love of Christ crucified and such a fervor of religion went through the whole city as had never before been known.

In 1573 Pope Gregory XIII, at the petition of the king of France and certain cardinals allowed the Capuchins to establish themselves outside Italy. Within a very few years they were to be found not only in France, but in Germany, Flanders, Switzerland—in fact in every country of Europe. In 1650 according to the official statistics, the Order numbered forty-seven provinces, one thousand four hundred and twenty-eight houses, with twenty-one thousand eight hundred and forty friars; and it is to be noted that no small proportion of the friars were recruited from the nobility and higher gentry, the class to whom the rigid poverty of the Capuchins must have meant an heroic sacrifice.

Once they crossed the Alps the Capuchins were faced by a new problem. In Italy the Protestant movement had been practically stamped out. Across the Alps Germany, Switzerland, and even France were in the throes of civil war, either actual or seething, between the Protestant and Catholic parties; whilst it was yet doubtful which party would gain the ascendency in Poland and Bohemia. In their work amongst the Catholics of these countries the friars adhered to the method which had already made them so successful in Italy; but now they had to take up the gauntlet of militant heresy. In all the chronicles or histories of the early seventeenth century which refer to the bitter fight for Protestant ascendency in Switzerland and Southern Germany, the saving of the Faith in those parts is attributed mainly to the heroic labors of the Jesuits and Capuchins—in Catholic documents, thankfully; in Protestant writings, bitterly. In Switzerland, to this day, the gratitude of the Catholic cantons has maintained a flourishing province of Capuchins in spite of the repressive federal legislation which has suppressed almost all other religious houses of men.

In the Tyrol the Capuchin apostolate was consecrated by the martyrdom of St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen, proto-martyr of Propaganda Fide. In Germany the leader of the invading friars was St. Laurence of Brindisi, a man of magnetic personality, remarkable as much by his exceptional natural gifts as a preacher, writer and diplomatist as by his sanctity. He must have been a prodigious worker. The record of his preaching tours alone would entitle him to honorable mention

as an untiring worker. Yet his writings fill many tomes; and in addition there were his labors as a diplomatist, sent by the Pope and the Catholic princes of Germany to negotiate difficult matters of high diplomacy in regard to the war against the threatening Turks and the political Catholic German princes. He was fitted for this purpose by a natural persuasiveness in argument and a keen insight into the minds of those he dealt with. It was this same quality which made him a powerful debater in the many conferences he held with the Protestant ministers in Germany. In his missionary work in Germany he was ably supported by such men as Fra Mattia da Salo and Fra Giacinto da Casale, two of the most powerful preachers of the time and men of intellectual as well as of apostolic fame. And then there was Valerianus Magnus, "great by fame as well as by name," as one writer says; a voluminous writer of high quality in defence of the Faith, as well as a great preacher. He too was the chosen councillor of kings in that war-stricken period. In fact in the early seventeenth century the Capuchins were not infrequently chosen as councillors and ambassadors to represent the Catholic States; at a Diet of Ratisbon the Capuchin Joseph le Clerc and Valerianus Magnus represented the contending claims of the king of France and the emperor; at another time the same Père Joseph and Fra Giacinto da Casale were rival envoys, the one of France and the other of Bavaria at the Court of Rome when the Pope was seeking to conciliate the two States in the interest of Catholicism. At a somewhat later period the Venerable Mark of Aviano is found continuing the work of apostle and diplomatist in defence of the Catholic cause in Germany. The history of the Capuchins in Germany in the midst of the religious contentions and wars of the seventeenth century is indeed a thrilling chapter in Church history.

And no less so is the history of the French Capuchins during the same period. In the beginning of the seventeenth century there dwelt in the Capuchin friary in Paris one of the most remarkable communities to be found in the history of the cloister. There were to be found—to mention but a few of the outstanding figures—Père Ange de Joyeuse, who twice renounced his dukedom to become a Capuchin, and whose story has easily lent itself to the writers of romance;—a notable mili-

tary leader called from the cloister to save fortunes of the Catholic League and a notable preacher. There too was Ives de Paris, once a lawyer, whose apologetic and polemical works were eagerly read and debated upon by the intellectuals of France—in some sort a French Newman; there was the Venerable Honoré of Paris, saint and a notable director of souls; the Englishman, Benedict Canfield, master-mystic; Ives d'Evreux, the intrepid pioneer missionary of Maranhao in South America; and Père Joseph le Clerc, "the grey Cardinal" of French history. That Paris friary was the centre of vast enterprises both for home and foreign missions; it was too the home of an intense intellectual activity which gave French Catholic literature works of enduring value.[5]

By the middle of the century there was scarcely a town of any note in France which did not pride itself on its Capuchin friary with its incessant activity in the Catholic cause; whilst in Savoy it was said that the faith had been saved by St. Francis de Sales and his friend the able Capuchin Cherubino de Moriana.

In the meanwhile the Capuchins had established a missionary province for England and Ireland. Already there were many Irish and English Capuchins in the provinces on the continent. These formed the nucleus of the new province and in a short while from novitiate houses at Douai and Charleville in Flanders, there poured forth a stream of Irish and English Capuchin missionaries to assist in preserving the faith of their fellow-countrymen. Only in recent years have the documents been discovered in continental libraries establishing the fact of the extensive labors of the friars both in Ireland and England; a recovered chapter in the history of the Order. Three of their number are on the list of martyrs awaiting beatification.

The mention of the Paris friary brings us to the intense foreign missionary work which followed the Pope's permission to establish the Capuchin Order outside Italy. Individual Capuchins had already been allowed to undertake missionary work amongst the infidels, and in 1587 a band of

[5] A French writer, Henri Bremond, has justly lamented that the Capuchins have neglected to republish the master works of these early Capuchin writers. (*Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France,* Vol. II, p. 136.)

Italian missionaries had been sent to Constantinople under the leadership of St. Joseph of Leonissa. But it was the French Capuchins who early in the seventeenth century organized an intensive missionary activity, in Asia, Africa, and America. In Asia missions were founded in Turkey and Palestine and even in Persia; in Africa Capuchin missions settled in Egypt, Morocco, and penetrated to the Congo; in America, missionaries were sent to the recently discovered districts in Brazil, whilst another mission was established in Acadie, the country of Evangeline. All these missions were established almost simultaneously and were under the direction of the French commissary of the missions; though an independent mission of Italian Capuchins about the same time was sent to the borderland of the Congo and converted a native State with its ruling Queen, Singa. It was an amazing achievement, this simultaneous establishment of missions in three continents; and was perhaps the noblest work of that enigmatic genius, Père Joseph le Clerc. The achievement is the more amazing since it was not ephemeral, but was the beginning of a foreign missionary activity which grew and extended throughout the whole of the following century.

Incidentally the adventure of these new foreign missions made a valuable contribution to the literature of travel in unknown lands; and the lengthy reports sent home by many of the missionaries in which they describe the manners and customs of the unknown or little-known peoples amongst whom they labored, and the adventure of discovery of the lands they sought, are sources of history. A goodly number of such reports were published. They make fascinating reading and deserve to be better known. Perhaps some day the Capuchins will collect the works of their great writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and make them again accessible to the world at large; should they do so I believe the world would thank them. The collection would include works of practical piety, contributions to constructive theological thought, apologetic treatises of more than ephemeral value, the work of their great masters in the mystical life; and the books of sermons of such preachers as Mattia da Salo—masterpieces of their kind. Nor should it exclude the books of travel of some of their great missionaries. Such a collection would reveal a

line and quality of religious thought of distinctive value in the post-medieval period of Catholic life. Largely inspired and moulded by the thought and method of St. Bonaventura, it yet has a freshness and actuality derived from immediate contact and sympathy with the mind of the age in which these writers wrote. They wrote not for the Schools but for the people amongst whom they worked. They wrote so to speak in the open air, and not within school-walls; that is perhaps why their books speak with a living voice.[6]

Such in brief is the story of that reawakening of the Franciscan spirit known as the Capuchin Reform. Derived from St. Francis through the earlier reform of the Observants, protected in its infancy by the Conventual Franciscans, the Capuchin spirit looks gratefully to-day to the older branches of the Franciscan Order. In their separate activities the bond of a common origin and a common Rule yet unites them as one Order; and to-day looking back over the history of the past we may perceive how in their separate activities they yet support each other, perhaps more deeply and with the greater sincerity of purpose because of the frank acknowledgment that in the Franciscan Kingdom there are many mansions—yet the one Kingdom—the Kingdom of the Lady Poverty.

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MASS-GOING AND THE AUTOMOBILE.

IT would seem from the many queries concerning the automobile and Mass-going that a stage has been reached where it is no longer a matter of particular casuistry, of settling the conscience of an individual, but of restating the general obligation, and perhaps of preaching a new obligatory practice: at least here in America. Since the war, the auto has become a family possession, if not a necessity. This is particularly true of rural districts, and it is with the rural populations that we are concerned. There is no home without

[6] I take this opportunity of correcting a statement I made in my article on the Capuchins in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* to the effect that the Capuchins had produced no literary work of the first rank. At the time I wrote that article I had not made personal acquaintance with the works to which I refer in this article.

a "flivver," and few in the family cannot drive. The auto, too, of whatever make or age is practicable and reliable. Time was when it was dependable only in the hands of the skilled mechanic, and on occasional roads or in few localities. That is all changed of late. One can start out on long trips without the least apprehension of uncertainty of reaching almost any destination, and return. Good roads, frequent service stations, common ability to drive, and a machine that gets you there and gets you back; such is our day.

Whence it is that rural pastors are asking if all this has not so changed the condition and the habits, generally, of their distant parishioners, that they themselves should preach the obligation of hearing Holy Mass on Sundays and holidays of obligation in new terms of distance and difficulty that may be considered to excuse. We shall try to arrive at the answer by going over the teaching of the theologians on all the points involved.

To begin with, let us note that whatever the excuses the theologians entertain as allowing one to miss Holy Mass, they keep in high relief both the ecclesiastical precept and the natural obligation, which latter is practically the need of Holy Mass to sanctify the Lord's Day. As to the ecclesiastical precept, they state that *ability to attend* is the determinant and measure of the obligation. The faithful should get to Mass. Physical and moral impossibility will excuse, but as to the latter, the less the faithful avail themselves of it, the better. We note, too, that the theologians guard against the notion that inability to enjoy a privilege, such as a private oratory or a chapel of mere convenience, does not do away with the obligation to go to Mass. All this should be kept in mind as we approach our problem.

Distance and difficulty have always been recognized as serious reasons for non-observance of the Sunday Mass obligation. Under these heads come many considerations; time, weather and road conditions, safety and surety of travel, health and comfort, expense, parish and mission status, and custom. Of these, *time* is the one by which the theologians gauge pretty much all the other factors. They commonly teach that if the faithful can get to Mass in a good hour's time, they are obliged to go; and this by whatever mode of travel. A good hour's

time is stated in terms of an hour and a quarter. Also, this period of time is for a one-way journey, thus making the minimum of distance from church that will excuse from the Sunday obligation a total journey of two hours and a half. Now this requirement translated into terms of auto travel to-day would mean a distance of fifteen miles. It would seem that such a distance is the maximum requirement and yet a reasonable average limitation. It is comfortably within the speed limit, compatible with safety, practicable under anything but extraordinary weather conditions, possible morally to any driver and on roads as they are usually to be found. And more than this, the auto ride, compared with other modes of travel, is measurably better and effectively minimizes nearly every other consideration that theologians have taken into account. The convenience of preparation, protection against inclement weather, absence of fatigue, even to the frail or less rugged person to whom an auto ride is a pleasure and benefit rather; all these facts make for a real revolution in the common life. Kenrick, when placing the distance limit at ten miles for those who travel by horse or carriage, observes, "iter hujusmodi negotiorum suorum causa quotidie fere conficiunt". This is more generally true to-day of everybody who would come under the law of Sunday Mass or would be excused therefrom because of moral impossibility. Auto travel is a commonplace to everybody in rural districts, whether for business or sociability, profit or pleasure. The auto has annihilated distance, neighborized the farmer, and has given accessibility a new meaning; and this is as true of the church as well as of neighbors and of markets. No longer is there the trouble of grooming the horse and hitching up and a slow bumpy ride, of walking to the car line and waiting in wind and weather, patiently or otherwise, for the Toonerville Trolley, or of trudging over hill and dale and dusty or muddy roads under varied skies. And there is always the likelihood of a lift from the neighbors, if one be out of luck.

The element of expense has required some calculation, but the result seems not to have altered matters. A gallon or two of gas will suffice for the average auto and the wear and tear of tires and machine will not alter greatly the same item for the general daily use in the long run. Besides, there were

expenses under other modes of travel. There was the Sunday carriage, bought chiefly for church-going, and the horse had to be fed on Sundays as on other days, whether driven to church or not. Sunday-go-to-meeting clothes and shoes are not the same for auto-riding and the wear and requirement are notably less. Carfare, too; and this is an item of expense for each individual which in the total for a family made a demand on the family budget. This is true of most of the other expenses mentioned. It would seem then, that, given the possession of an auto, and all that this implies of general expense, the cost of going to church is not appreciably or comparatively more than under previous circumstances and ought not to be argued as an excusing reason. Considering, too, the fact that with the auto all the Mass-goers in the family can be taken along, even the smaller children and the baby as well, the case for the obligation is strengthened. For it must be remembered that this is the way the auto serves the whole family for pleasure, and not only for business, and the trip to Mass can serve this end, and is of much more importance. Certainly expense should not be taken into account where the real business of life is involved, when it is not reckoned as a deterrent in matters of pleasure and other business.

Of course, if it be a proportionately considerable item of expense that cannot well be afforded, then it is a reason *mediocriter gravis* and suffices to excuse; and it is true that money is a comparatively scarce commodity with farmers.

At this point, a question arises, by the way, as to what might be regarded as the average or maximum cost of getting to church over and above which an individual or *even* an average family could be thought excused from the obligation of hearing Mass. We would venture the statement that fifty cents, that is the cost of a quarter each way, could be regarded as the maximum. That amount is an item with rural folk in itself, and when added to the church contributions from the family budget for every Sunday, it mounts up for the whole year to a total that is really felt. Even less than this means a good deal to not a few families. Thus a person or family that would have to hire a taxi to get to church could be excused from the obligation of *regular* Sunday Mass attendance if the cost were over half a dollar. Obviously, no such standard would hold

with people who are in easy circumstances and can spend without close calculation on pleasure and living.

There is another aspect of the general question that must be taken into account, namely, the *Parish* and the *Mission*.

Both the parish Mass and the obligation of hearing Mass in one's own parish are long since obsolete. Anyone may fulfil the Church precept by hearing Mass anywhere, except in a private oratory. But, again be it noted, the obligation is measured by the *moral ability* to get to Mass. That one should hear Mass somewhere if there be none in one's own parish goes without saying: but the event of there being no Mass is so unlikely, or is so likely to be found out only on arrival at the church, thus making it impossible to arrive in time for Mass elsewhere, that the matter is not of practical importance. Or, if there be any question it will be settled according to the observations we are about to make concerning the obligation of those who are served by a *mission*.

A *mission* is either a convenience merely for the parishioners or it is *ad instar parochialis*. If the former, it cannot be thought to supply for the parish church, and if there be Mass there only occasionally it is clear that the faithful who are thus accommodated by the mission must hear Mass on the off days in their parish or elsewhere morally possible. But the mission *ad instar parochialis* is practically a parish church for the faithful of a neighborhood as far as it can be, though it is not canonically a parish and has no resident priest, etc. In these it is the regular thing that Mass is said on one or more Sundays a month at which all or only some of the members of a family can attend. What about the duty to get to Mass on the off Sundays, or every Sunday if they cannot get to the mission Mass?

Here again the auto has qualified distance and difficulty. Missions are in point of time and accessibility now much nearer not only to their own parishes but often to other parishes, and even nearer other parish churches than their own; or the road to other parish churches is appreciably better and more practicable. Pastors have long known what this means. A new car line has often made it very convenient for their parishioners to go to other churches even in the cities, and especially in bad weather. Parish lines have been

changed on this account. It is most likely that the auto will bring about the same result.

But the actual question is: Are the faithful obliged to attend Mass wherever they can according to the conditions stated above? We speak of those served by a mission, here in our country.

This is debatable. Kenrick says: "Qui rure degunt et sacerdotis copia semel in mense fruuntur, in ecclesiis quae iis sit instar parochialis, non videntur teneri ad iter alio faciendum in diebus festis vel dominicis in quibus abest." Konings makes comment on this to the effect of excepting only those who live three miles distant: "nisi, exciperem, tribus tantum miliaribus ab aliqua ecclesia distent." In other words, according to Konings, the obligation for the faithful is the same, mission or no mission; they must get to Mass in some church if it be within the accepted time and distance. Kenrick however clearly states that there seems to be no obligation for the faithful served by a once-a-month mission, and *a fortiori* for those who enjoy Mass oftener, to get to Mass elsewhere, whether in their own or any other parish church, even though they can do it within the time and distance which he extends to ten miles' travel by horse or carriage.

This assertion he evidently bases on custom. Kenrick was wont to consult widely and his doctrine represents the mind of the American Church of his day. The theologians generally admit that custom can qualify the Mass obligation in such a point as this, just as custom probably begot the Sunday obligation in the beginning. There is no legislation on the matter for at least three centuries, but at the same time, there can be no question as to the mind of the faithful and their practice during that period, even concerning distance. It is interesting, if not very materially significant, that the necessity of coming from a distance to be present at Mass accounts for the change from the Sabbath to Sunday. As Villien remarks: "Sunday . . . was joined to the Sabbath. This addition probably occurred as follows: Their gathering began towards evening and lasted till day-break. . . . This must have been the usual order, especially at a time when the Christians were scattered in small communities, each of which could not have an apostle or priest, and were consequently obliged to

travel a longer distance than was allowed by the Sabbath if they wished to partake of the Last Supper in common. Thus the first day of the week was added to the Sabbath." [1]

Wherefore, it seems reasonable to admit even in these days of habitual and general auto travel, the view of Kenrick and his contemporaries, for no doubt the customary attitude of priests and faithful has been ever since to regard as non-existent the obligation of those served by a mission to hear Mass on the off Sundays. But it would certainly be well to break up the custom and bring the minds and the practice of the faithful quite within the letter of the law; in other words, to bring them to *this* understanding of the obligation to attend Mass, that it is determined by their *moral ability* to get there. How this may be done and why, we shall try to show presently under the consideration of the natural obligation of Sunday Mass as distinguished from the canonical or Church precept.

What then should be preached to the faithful?

Certainly, there seems no canonical consideration that can excuse the faithful from attending Mass if they can reach their parish church or mission in a good hour's time and, therefore, it would seem the clear duty of pastors to preach this in terms of automobile travel, which would mean a distance of fifteen miles. And this is all the more urgent when it is remembered that the possession of an auto is common to rural folk, and for them not to avail themselves of it means that a whole, or considerable section, of a community is missing Mass although attendance is reasonably easy.

As for the faithful who are served by a mission and have Mass only once a month, and can get to some church within the time prescribed, it does not seem unreasonable to urge them to do so; even, we would venture to say that the pastors should endeavor to end the custom by which they are excused, since the auto has so changed the custom of the people and the conditions of travel. If in a locality there be no such custom, so much the better, and the matter is simpler. To break down a custom, the pastors will do well to urge regular attendance at Mass on other grounds that are well recognized, which constitute an obligation quite other than the ecclesiastical precept. And these are:

[1] Villien, *A History of the Commandments of the Church*, p. 25.

First, there is the need of the faithful to hear doctrinal instruction and moral exhortation, to be advised of such obligatory practices as days and seasons of fast and abstinence and of such special seasonal devotions as are announced each Sunday from the altar, which are not known or thought of by Catholics who do not hear Mass regularly. Catechism, too, before or after Mass is better assured, for the children can come by auto with the family.

Secondly, the gathering together of rural Catholics regularly on Sundays means a great deal in the way of edification and moral support, of a sense of communion and solidarity that is sadly dissipated by isolation and living among non-Catholic neighbors. The evil of mixed marriages can be counteracted, to some extent certainly, by the regular Sunday mingling of all the parish. Experience has taught us, too, the allurement of non-Catholic churches and services, especially of the Sunday schools for the children.

Thirdly, a new factor, the radio is to be reckoned with and neutralized. It is no longer the Sunday papers that take or keep from the Sunday observance. Sermons and services are broadcast all the day long on Sundays, and Catholics do their share of listening in, not at all to their betterment in Catholic-mindedness. Also, though it may be only exceptional, some priests have found that a Catholic thinks that to listen in devoutly on a broadcast Mass suffices for his obligation.

Lastly, and far above all, there is the consideration of the Mass itself and assistance at it. What this means in the life of a Catholic, or a community, or a people, every one knows. Practically there is no substitute for it. Rather, besides the spiritual benefit of it, there is the natural obligation. External worship is part of man's duty to God; and assistance at Holy Mass is *the Catholic external worship;* Sacrifice, public prayer, and community worship. The less of these, the less is a man or a people Catholic. It is the duty of a pastor to care that his parish does not suffer, as it is bound to suffer, if the faithful are not imbued with the sense of what the Mass means in their lives. They must be brought to feel Mass is not to be missed without effort, grave reason, and deep regret; that the mere precept is not the whole story and that to avail themselves of excuses from mortal sin alone, is poor religion, shabby Catholicity and hurtful practice.

In the early Church, assistance at Mass became the discriminating badge of faithful Christians. In our country, Catholics are thought of as Mass-goers; they have so impressed their non-Catholic neighbors for generations. This is the greatest visible blessing of God upon us, and our priests will not readily let this be detracted from, one iota. *The devotion to the Fifty-two Sundays* will still be the one they will have most at heart that their flocks be attached to, and the one they will preach with more zeal than all the others. For when Mass-going is in honor all is well. The observance of the Lord's Day is assured, in all its phases and in all its good effects. And it would appear from a study of the whole Christian Sunday that it is not a mere continuance of the Jewish Sabbath, but is to-day a law of tradition and of custom as well as of positive legislation; and all that became of obligation for Christians, became such in order to insure assistance at Mass, the principal object of the Christian Sunday observance and duty. It is the Catholic mind that all Sunday observance without Mass is not to be preferred to Sunday Mass without the rest. There is proven danger that there will be little of real Sunday without attendance at church.

The Fathers of the Third Plenary Council thought well to bring this to the minds of priests and people. In their Pastoral Letter they said; "There are many sad facts in the experience of nations, which we may well store up as lessons of practical wisdom. Not the least important of these is the fact that one of the surest marks and measures of the decay of religion in a people, is their non-observance of the Lord's Day. . . . The Lord's Day is a church-day, strengthening and consecrating the bond of brotherhood among all men, by their kneeling together around the altars of the one Father in heaven. . . . Let all our people 'remember to keep holy the Lord's Day'. . . . Let them make it not only a day of rest, but also a day of prayer. . . . Let them sanctify it by assisting at the adorable Sacrifice of the Mass."

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THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT.

READERS of Catholic newspapers and periodicals have in the past years met the phrase *Liturgical Movement* with increasing frequency. Many who know nothing definite about this movement may still be aware that such a movement has been on foot for some years in this country, that it has grown immeasurably more conscious of itself in the past year or two, and that the Liturgical Movement is a thing of longer standing in the various Catholic regions of Europe.

In Europe the growth of the movement for a popularization of the liturgy, in recent years especially, has been astounding. The fortnightly review *Bibel und Liturgie,* published at Kloster-neuburg, near Vienna, counted up fifteen periodicals devoting themselves to the liturgy and the Liturgical Movement. There are two in German, two in Dutch, five in French, one in English, two in Italian, one in Spanish (Catalan), one in Portuguese. To this list must be added one more in English; and further periodicals in French and Spanish, etc., that deal more exclusively with the Gregorian chant, or with the manufacture of articles and paraphernalia connected with the public worship of the Church—all of which devote space also to a presentation of the internal spirit of the liturgy.

In Belgium "Liturgical Weeks" or congresses have been held almost yearly for over a decade—both in French and in Flemish—reports of which fill volumes of four hundred pages or more. Similar congresses have been held in Austria and Germany, as well as retreats conducted on a liturgical basis, and other conferences galore, especially in the latter country. Spain and Portugal have followed this example. In France there have been innumerable diocesan Liturgical Days and Gregorian Days conducted under the inspiration and leadership of the bishops, while in Italy pastoral letters of cardinal-archbishops and other ordinaries have been increasingly devoted to the cause of the popularization of the liturgy.

In the United States various individuals in widely scattered places have been interesting themselves for some years in the liturgical awakening. Their efforts were not without results in the respective localities; and from them as centers interest in the liturgy began to spread. But no attempt was

made at a more definite organization for spreading knowledge of the liturgical movement in this country, until the *Liturgical Press* was formed. Its center is at St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota. It has within a year's time published several pamphlets of a *Popular Liturgical Library,* and a review *Orate Fratres* (Pray, Brethren). The latter appears every four weeks, and commenced its second volume with the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, 1927; that is, the First Sunday of Advent last. Before that, one aspect alone of the liturgy, Gregorian chant, had had its center of organized activities; namely, the Pius X Institute of Gregorian Music in New York City. To this must now be added the institution of the Schola Cantorum at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., and the St. Cloud Institute of Music, St. Cloud, Minn.—both in the fall of 1927.

In its first stages the Liturgical Movement was by some persons considered a specialty of monks and for monks, particularly Benedictines. It is true that the present movement traces its initiative back in great part to the activities of Dom Prosper Gueranger, Abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Solesmes, famous for its part in the revival of Gregorian chant; also that Benedictine monasteries have been centers of the spread of the liturgical revival. However, the definite coming to consciousness, so to say, of the Liturgical Movement is owing to the indefatigable zeal of none other than Pius X. His well-known exhortations and regulations in regard to Church music and frequent and early Communion are but two aspects of a deeper and wider project. The latter he called "active participation in the most holy mysteries and in the public and solemn prayer of the Church"; that is, in the liturgy of the Church. His motive was, in his own words, "a most ardent desire to see the true Christian spirit flourish again in every respect". This true Christian spirit was to be acquired from the active participation just mentioned, which the Pope called "its foremost and indispensable fount" (*Motu Proprio* of 22 November, 1903).

Pius X did not speak of all this as if it were only for a select body of Christian souls, or for some special religious organization. He spoke distinctly of "all the faithful". Gradually among Catholics a movement was begun through which,

not only one or the other, but all the phrases above, began to find their realization. The work, begun by a few, soon spread to the many, to Catholics of all ranks and stations in life, to priests and religious of all types. In its development, therefore, as in its prime inspiration, the movement is truly catholic. There are, to take an illustration, four published reports in French of the Liturgical Weeks held in Belgium. The persons who contributed addresses to these comprise Benedictines, Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, members of the congregations of the Most Holy Redeemer and of the Most Holy Sacrament, diocesan clergy, laymen and laywomen. Again, the liturgical review, *Orate Fratres,* before the end of its first year, contained among its contributors both of articles and of larger communications, members of the following groups: Diocesan, Benedictine, Capuchin, Franciscan, and Paulist priests; seminarians, nuns of various orders; laymen and laywomen, both married and unmarried.

Among the foremost champions of the Liturgical Movement was the late Cardinal Mercier, ever most ardent and inspiring in its behalf. Everywhere members of the hierarchy have encouraged and even aided it. The present Holy Father sent a special blessing and letter of encouragement to the monks of the abbey of Maria Laach, in Germany, because of their great liturgical activities. In the Encyclical Letter establishing the "Feast of the Kingship of our Lord Jesus Christ" (11 December, 1925), the present Holy Father said: "Man, being composed of body and soul, is so moved and stimulated by the external solemnities of festivals, and such is the variety and beauty of the sacred rites, *that he drinks more deeply of divine doctrine, assimilates it into his very system, and makes it a source of strength for progress in spiritual life.*" Shortly before these words, the Holy Father makes the following pronouncement, which may strike the uninitiated with something close to amazement: "The people are better instructed in the truths of faith by the annual celebration of our sacred mysteries than by even the weightiest pronouncements of the teaching of the Church."

This is a very unambiguous declaration of what the liturgical functions of the Church are in their very nature. And the declaration comes from the reigning Pontiff in a public docu-

ment. It is therefore not open to question by any Catholic. But we may well ask ourselves frankly whether in our practical life the celebration of the liturgical feasts, or of the liturgy of the Church in any other aspect, really does produce the results the Holy Father mentions in the statements of the above paragraph, whether it is really made "a source of strength for progress in spiritual life," or not? If we must say *No,* even with some qualifications—and many must say *Not at all*—we are at the heart of the objective of the Liturgical Movement.

What, then, is the Liturgical Movement, or what does it propose? Because of possible misconceptions, misconceptions that are quite natural because of prevalent, commonly accepted views among Catholics, we may first answer by saying that the Liturgical Movement is not primarily a movement to restore more artistic vestments and church utensils, or to promote better-looking church buildings, or even a more artistic rendering of melody at church services. We have said *primarily,* because all of these should be accompanying effects of our attaining the more basic aim of the Liturgical Movement. The latter reaches into the very heart of the Church's sacred liturgy, into its essential nature as the prayer-life of the Church, the specific means of glorifying God and sanctifying men that was divinely instituted by Christ, and further developed by a divinely guided Church. Moral theologians have a practical principle, *Sacramenta propter homines;* that is, the Sacraments are for the people. This is true not only of the seven Sacraments, but also of all the other aspects of the liturgy, of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, of the many sacramentals, of the official prayer of the Divine Office or Breviary, of the liturgical year or annual cycle of feasts. All of these are for man—some for all men without exception, some for different walks and circumstances of life. All of these are for the people, because the Church herself is for the people; and she is that because she is the spouse of her Divine Founder and the continuer of His mission, in regard to which He said of Himself: "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister."

The Church here on earth continues the work of Christ. For this reason He transmitted to her His powers and offices of Teacher, Pastor, and Priest. The sanctifying power of

priesthood the Church exercises through all her official representatives, on whom this power is conferred in the sacrament of Holy Orders. The official representatives, priests and bishops, exercise this sanctifying power on souls in so far as these souls come in contact with the official exercise of these sanctifying powers; that is, in contact with the enactment of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the sacraments, blessings, and other official prayers—in other words, with the enactments of the Church's *liturgy*.

The purpose of the liturgy, said Pius X, is the glorification of God and the sanctification of men. Now the liturgy sanctifies men only in so far as they come in contact with it. And it sanctifies men the more effectively, the more consciously men come in contact with it, understanding its import for themselves, and desiring its fullest effects.

Pope Pius had emphasized the *participation* of *all the faithful* in the most holy mysteries. Participation by men means primarily a participation in actions whose meaning and values are *understood* by the participators, and *willed* by them. Often Catholics attend Mass on Sundays with a very definite understanding of the obligation to do so, but with only the vaguest understanding of the true meaning of the Mass, and with only the very general will to fulfil their obligation. Such an attendance is certainly not the best attendance of which man is capable as a creature endowed with intelligence and free will. It may be little more than the mere avoidance of transgressing the Church's command. A more perfect attendance on the part of rational man is an attendance in which he understands more in detail what is going on in the Mass, knows how the progressive action of the Mass is intimately related to his presence at the Mass, and desires and aspires to enter into its actions with heart and mind as fully as possible. Then will he be aligned as completely as possible with the performance of the holy action; then will his disposition be such as to receive the graces of the Mass to the fullest extent; then will his participation be to the utmost the "foremost and indispensable fount" of "the true Christian spirit" for him.

What is said of the Mass holds proportionately of the other aspects of the liturgy. Where attendance is obligatory, the obligation is fulfilled with most profit of soul by a participa-

tion of mind and heart in the function attended. Where attendance is voluntary, the most fruitful attendance is still the one that unites mind and heart most intimaely with the sanctifying action officially performed for us.

Such participation, which the Liturgical Movement tries to promote and foster, is not something new in the Catholic Church. On the contrary, it is as old as the hills. It was precisely the spirit of the early Christians, who so well understood the message of Christ, and were so permeated with enthusiasm for His Church and His cause. The later decline and loss of the primitive fervor of Christianity can be paralleled by the decline and loss of what is so aptly called the liturgical spirit. What the different reasons for this are, it is still the task of historians to unravel in detail. For us it is of more moment to note that keen observers see in the Liturgical Movement of to-day the most hopeful sign for that renewal of Catholic Christian spirit and influence in the lives of men, which is the object of a growing need and expectancy among men.

Nor are indications wanting to favor this view. Where the Liturgical Movement has taken root, it has acknowledgedly resulted in an increased appreciation of all the things of Christ. The records of the last four popes of the Church are epoch-making. Leo XIII gave the call to a reawakened sense of the social duties of Catholic thought in a world torn at once by a rank individualism and an equally extravagant communism. Leo pointed the way to a renewal of the spirit of sound Christian philosophical thought, brought up to date, as it were, and applied to the social maladjustments of our age. Pius X went farther and pointed out the ultimate source and inspiration of a renewal of the Catholic spirit and faith, without which all other efforts at a renewal of Catholic principles must be but vain and formal attempts. Benedict XV, assuming his pontificate amid the cries of hatred and distress that were but the logical outcome of the loss of the true Christian spirit, was a most striking guide and example at once of the superiority of the Church over the strifes of the world, and of the fact that her province is that of the peace of man and the spiritual guidance and preservation of men in Christ. Scarce has the turmoil of war ceased when Pius XI, endorsing and

encouraging the movements begun by Leo and the earlier Pius, goes beyond them in an application to all the world, prophetically envisioning the conquest of lands and peoples still foreign, in the name of Christ the King.

History will one day look back on our transitional age and mark it as the beginning of a Christian and Catholic renascence —provided men are true to their call in Christ—of vast importance and consequences. The inauguration will be traced back to the keen visions and clarion calls of a series of giant figures in the See of Peter. But when it comes to characterizing the renascence in a single phrase, none other will be given but that of the papal inaugurator of the liturgical revival, whose chosen aim was: *Instaurare omnia in Christo—To bring all things under the headship of Christ.*

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WHAT IS NEWMAN'S DEEPEST MESSAGE?

THAT Cardinal Newman was an exceptionally versatile genius is universally conceded. To the discriminating reader he is above all the Cicero of English prose; to the Catholic student, however, his chief merit lies in that hunger and thirst for truth and that fearless yet winsome defence of his convictions which ranks him as the peerless defender of England's first Faith.

Newman's masterpiece viewed from any angle is his *Apologia.* It is a rare tribute to the sound judgment of the Catholic American reading public that, in a ballot conducted some years ago by our foremost Catholic weekly, this defence of his own conduct and of the integrity of the Catholic priesthood against the dastardly insinuations of a thereby immortalized Kingsley, was rated as the most meritorious English work written by a Catholic during the last one hundred years.

But all of Newman's greatest works are apologies. The Lectures of 1850, which are collected in Volume One of the *Difficulties of Anglicans,* demonstrate to those of his former disciples among the Tractarians who still hesitated in their Romeward step, that their principles were essentially alien to the Anglican Church. He also answers several popular ob-

jections to the Catholic Church. The *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* are, on the other hand, defensive only. They are a fundamental, psychological study of English intolerance toward the Church of Rome. No factors contributed more toward dissipating prejudice against Catholicism in the higher strata of English society and toward rendering possible the phenomenal growth of the Church in the British Isles in the last seventy-five years than did these nine lectures given in the Corn Exchange, Birmingham, and the weekly installments in which the *Apologia* first appeared. In an open *Letter Addressed to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., on the Occasion of His Eirenicon of 1864,* Newman presents a complete Mariology, by a lucid exposition of the leading principles of Catholic belief in the Mother of God and of devotion to her. A second open letter, ten years later, addressed to the Duke of Norfolk, answered Gladstone's fears about the Catholic teaching on the relation between Church and State, somewhat after the manner of Governor Smith's reply to Mr. Marshall. The Governor's letter, however, though adequate, is chiefly personal; the great Oratorian's, on the other hand, is broader and more theological. The *Idea of a University,* while establishing and defending the place of Theology in the University curriculum, presents the Catholic view of a complete system of education. The *Development of Christian Doctrine* is a masterly survey of the historical evidence that the Catholic Church of to-day, with its complex system of dogma and multitudinous devotions, is but the logical, though at the same time divinely guided, evolution of the revealed principles of the Apostolic Church.

These contributions to the apologetic literature of the Catholic Church are as important as they are popular and fruitful. Newman's most searching apologetic work, which has, however, been little understood or at least little appreciated, is the solution which he offers to the basic problem that arises when reason seeks the ultimate motives of the credibility of Christianity as a divine revelation. We have the first sketch of his answer in the *Oxford University Sermons,* preached between 1826-1843. That this same problem literally haunted Newman throughout his entire life appears from the recurring references in the *Development of Christian Doctrine,*

the *Idea of a University,* the *Apologia,* a number of essays and many letters. In 1870 he gave final form to his theory in the profound but elusive *Grammar of Assent.* This study together with the theory of the evolution of dogma are Newman's chief service to the philosophy of religion.

Both of these theories were logically called forth by the religious position which he had taken: in the *Development* he reasoned himself from the Anglican into the Roman communion through history which proved to him that Rome had kept intact the faith of the Apostles; in the *Grammar* he shows that history, right reason, and above all, conscience, despite the difficulties that non-believers can conjure up, rightly lead even the average man to assent to the divinity of this faith of the Apostles.

The genesis of the latter theory runs as follows. Newman was born and educated an Anglican. In the second quarter of the last century a Liberal tendency began to manifest itself in the Established Church of England, particularly at the University of Oxford. This trend was characterized by an interference of the state in purely ecclesiastical matters that was more marked than ever before. The future of the Anglican Church looked dark. Deeply religious churchmen naturally resented and opposed such unwarranted encroachments. A defence league began to take shape around such spirits as Keble, Hurrell Froude, Newman, and Pusey. Tracts were published in the interest of religion, hence the name "Tractarians", The primary aim of this Oxford Movement was to save the Established Church from political usurpation. One of its first fruits was a reawakened interest in religious problems throughout the whole range of Revelation and Church History. From the first, the latitudinarian drift of the Liberals was quite clear to Newman, who foresaw that their principles logically followed out could end only in undisguised rationalism and scepticism. Two of the most sweeping of these Liberal principles are thus worded by the former Tractarian in an appendix to the *Apologia*: "1. No religious tenet is important, unless reason shows it to be so. 2. No one can believe what he does not understand." These dicta were by no means so clearly cut when the "March of Mind" began; only gradually did they take the form which Newman had so

keenly foreseen. Should these arbitrary assumptions of the Liberals ever be generally received, then, the leader of the Tractarians knew, the English Church's cause was hopeless.

A war was slowly brewing between pretended science and Revelation; Newman shrewdly calculated the precise location of its future battle-line. The English philosopher Locke had proclaimed a plausible scientific method of proof which became a fundamental principle of the Liberal school: "Doctrines", so Newman worded it, "are only so far to be considered true as they are logically demonstrated."[1] If this test were to be applied to our daily experiences it would destroy all certainty in most of our practical convictions, whether these precede the humdrum acts of our lives or rule our highest moral and religious actions. The state of affairs was rendered even more perilous by the implicit acceptance of Locke's principle by the "Evidentials", the then prevailing school of apologists in England, of whom Paley was the chief representative. The natural inference, from a religious, apologetic viewpoint, which the Liberals drew from Locke's principle was, "It is dishonest in a man to make an act of faith in what he had not brought home to him by actual proof."[2] Without doubt that conclusion was intended to undermine the religious faith of the great majority of Christians. That was the line along which Newman foresaw would be fought the most decisive battle of modern Church History.

Newman's *Parochial and Plain Sermons,* delivered at St. Mary's, Oxford, constituted a course of military training for the troops which he knew would meet the first onset of advancing Rationalism. The cardinal points of all these sermons, so rich in moral and ascetical teaching, are summed up and further developed in the sermons bearing on the relation between Reason and Faith which comprise the precious portion of the *Oxford University Sermons.* Newman felt, however, that the reply made to the Liberals in those sermons, though essentially irrefutable, needed more complete, that is, more basic, psychological development That lacuna held his attention for thirty years. It was the *Grammar of Assent* that finally

[1] *Dev. of Doctrine,* p. 327.
[2] *Apologia,* p. 294.

closed up this gap in his defence of the average man's certitude that the Christian Religion is divine.

Newman's purpose in completing his answer to the sceptic's fallacy, "You cannot be certain of a truth unless you prove it," was not merely theoretical; it was, above all, earnestly, apostolically practical. It differed, too, in scope from the traditional treatise of Apologetics which limited itself to proving that man's intellect can logically establish the reasonableness of faith in a revelation from God. That point Newman took for granted. He was at pains to prove the correctness of a proposition which Locke's followers rejected with some plausibility: Any Christian has the right to be certain of his religion without being able to marshal in its defence explicit, satisfactory proofs.

Newman's method in controversy is peculiar to himself. He does not believe in arguing; exposition is his strong point. "First shoot around corners, and you may not despair of converting by a syllogism." [3] One of his chief purposes in the *Grammar* is to prove that what we call "moral certitudes" are valid, and that a man who acts on implicit moral certitudes, even though he cannot produce explicit, adequate proofs for them, is acting reasonably. Reasoning, Newman maintains, differs from arguing; most men reason faultlessly in what deeply concerns them, but it is the exceptional man who can argue flawlessly. Few men, if any, can *prove* beyond a cavil or even a possible doubt that such or such a man is their father, or that they are really going to die; still, just as few are the men who have not the right to be certain of their assents to both of those propositions. Such assents are due to natural or informal implicit inferences, which are as valid as any formal, explicit, logical, fully adequate demonstrations. The philosopher who arbitrarily sets aside as irrational, assents that follow upon implicit inferences refuses to take human nature as the Creator fashioned it, and is forced in turn to admit that practically every ordinary act of his own entire life is unreasonable because he acts necessarly, even in his most scientific demonstrations, on first principles which are assumed but never proved. "Resolve to believe nothing, and you must prove your proofs and analyze your elements, sinking farther

[3] *Grammar of Assent*, p. 96.

and farther, and finding 'in the lowest depths a lower deep', till you come to the broad bosom of scepticism." "Life is for action. If we insist on proofs for everything, we shall never come to action; to act you must assume and that assumption is faith."[4] Newman's leading deduction from this first principle, which he had drawn from universal, daily human experience, is this: a mode of action which is reasonable and necessary in ordinary acts of life cannot be considered irrational when we are moved to accept a divine revelation. If implicit moral certitude is a valid motive for purely natural actions, surely it cannot be insufficient for the more important assent to a supernatural message.

In what way, then, does Newman explain how the average man reasonably accepts that Christianity is a divine revelation? How does the moral child or uneducated adult assent to the divinity and therefore to the truth of Christianity? What is the intricate, implicit method of reasoning that terminates in him in the valid assent, "The Christian Revelation is a message from God"?

Stated concisely, Newman's theory runs thus: Every man has a *conscience*. It is a voice that unmistakably convinces him of the existence of its Author, his Master, *God*. The dictates of conscience, its disapproval and approval, lead gradually to a more or less complete knowledge of God's *moral law*. That same voice and the experiences of fellow-men similar to his own also teach a man that he and his fellows have been in some way *estranged from God*. *Fear* of the Supreme Judge naturally follows: likewise the *desire* to come back into his favor. This desire keys a man up to be *on the look-out for a sign from God* whose providences prove Him to be, on the one hand, fearfully just, and on the other, supremely good. *Expectation* of some merciful move on the part of God grows in every man who is loyal to that inner voice. He will thus be predisposed to accept as a truly divine *signal* any message bearing a note of *reconciliation* which conscience insists is *the one great need of human nature*. The message need scarcely have any other supporting evidence. The true revelation has, of course, superabundant supplementary evidence, especially in the prophecies and miracles that accompanied it as guaran-

[4] *Grammar*, p. 96.

tees. *Trust,* however, that God will not deceive an honest seeker after reunion with Him, and a clear perception of the duty of prompt action make even *little external evidence sufficient* for an honest man. His judgment, his good sound sense, the "Illative Sense," as Newman calls it, decides that it is credible that such a message is from God; also that it should be received. The will commands assent and the intellect in turn answers: "I believe Christ's Gospel for it is divine".

Conscience, accordingly, is the basis of Newman's theory. It is the principal ground for the average man's belief in the existence of God, as well as for his knowledge of the natural law, of his estrangement from God by the violation of that law, of his need of reconciliation with the offended Creator and consequent peace within himself. The Christian Revelation fills out all these imperfect data of conscience and teaches besides a number of lofty truths which are hopelessly beyond the range of conscience and reason. The perfect harmony between one part of this message and those intimate, personal, though never clearly synthesized teachings of conscience, is for average men, even for the majority of Christians, their satisfactory and sufficient proof that the proffered message has as author, as it indeed professes to have, that same God whose voice speaks in the depths of their being through conscience. "Faith", in other words, "is the test of a man's heart." If he is docile to that inner voice he will readily accept the Gospel of Christ. He accepts those incomprehensible mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Redemption, the Real Presence, etc., because they are the word of that same Master who speaks so peremptorily in the inmost recesses of his being.

Newman's view of the ordinary man's argument may stand out clearer in an illustration. A young man and his betrothed had become separated through the girl's fault by some cruel mischance. For long years, in utter ignorance of his whereabouts, she dreamed of him and pined for reconciliation and reunion. "I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, if you find my beloved that you tell him that I languish with love."[5] Finally an unknown courier brings a message. Into her ear he whispers some of the closest secrets of her courtship that were absolutely unknown to all the world except to her be-

[5] Cant. of Canticles, 5:8.

loved, and adds several strange commands and items of news. These bid her give away her wealth and follow the guide to a far country where her lover has become a magnificent prince. Her one, great problem is, "Can this word really be from my beloved?" Notwithstanding the mystery of so much of it, regardless of the risk and hardship that obedience to it entails, she does not experience the least hesitation. What is the great motive that dispels even the slightest shadow of a doubt concerning the genuineness of that message? The bearer has all the marks of an unselfish, honest servant; all the hardships of his long quest and every detail of his conduct since his arrival bespeak only loyalty to his master, her royal lover. Not a single note reflects the least discredit upon the message. The princely presents that accompany it are but supplementary proof, really unnecessary for her. Her sufficient warrant that the message comes from her beloved, that he has forgiven her, that he bids her come, is the perfect harmony between the courier's whispers and what she knows were secrets shared by only two souls in all the world, herself and her betrothed: nay more, the messenger has even recalled details that she had long forgotten. "Behold my beloved speaks to me: Arise, make haste, my love, my dove, my beautiful one, and come. For winter is now past, the rain is now gone."[6] Her secrets were her beloved's; that message could originate with no other than him; all that was told her besides those secrets, all those reports, more fantastic than fairy tales, must be true, for they come from him. She cheerfully says goodbye to home to set out on what sympathetic neighbors call a love-crazed fool's errand. Her guarantees, which would seem so trivial to others that she knows it were useless to expose them, are more than sufficient for her; and so silently, blissfully she hastens to meet her king. "I to my beloved and his turning is toward me."[7]

The Christian Gospel, too, is a message, consisting partly of truth that can be attained by conscience or natural reason, and partly of others that are hopelessly beyond the powers of the human intellect. When presented to a man who is faithful

[6] Ibid., 11: 10

[7] Ibid., 7: 10.

to conscience, that harmony between truths innate in him and a large portion of the proffered revelation is for him sufficient warrant of its origin. The moral law dictated by conscience he knows is directly from God. The new message must then originate with the same author, and it actually professes to do so. Even the incomprehensible part of that message must also be true. The miracles of the messengers are really supplementary, beyond the necessary proofs. The average person cannot be expected to make a psychological analysis and synthesis of the moral code of conscience, and a further comparative study of that code and the same code received in the Christian Revelation. He "feels", however, that they agree; and by "feeling" he means merely the implicit recognition by his "Illative Sense", that is, by his practical judgment, that the new message corresponds accurately with the intimate laws of conscience and even perfects them. Hence that message, too, must come from God.

Of course, God's grace cöoperates in the entire process of implicit reasoning that can be outlined thus: "This message is surely from God, hence it is true; I should therefore accept it; I do accept it, I believe Christ's Gospel."

Such a conception of the Christian Revelation and of the motives that lead a soul to accept it as credible, is fundamentally opposed to that of the Immanentists and Modernists. For these latter, the revelation called Christian is in its entirety a purely subjective development growing out of man's subconsciousness and its blind needs; Christianity is, as it were, a natural wild fruit-tree evolving by some subtle process and eventually producing supernatural fruit. Newman, on the contrary, with the Catholic Church, holds to the absolutely objective source of Christianity. It originates out side of man; it comes from God. It is not a human development, a "survival of the fittest"; it is a divine branch plucked from God's Intelligence and grafted upon the wild stalk of human nature that henceforth is enabled through it to bring forth supernatural fruit. God in His Wisdom has so ordained that the heavenly graft is adapted to grow on a merely human stalk. That adaptability, according to Newman, is implicitly recognized by man's conscience and constitutes his ordinary, for the most part unrecognized, motives of credibility.

Newman is not at all an opponent of scientific Apologetics. He urges the study of the grounds of Faith upon men whose intellectual standing demands that they be "ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in them".[8] The claims of Christianity and Catholicity, he insists, can be explicitly drawn up in satisfactory form. He only warns and stoutly maintains that such explicit argumentation need not necessarily, and does not ordinarily precede faith, and that the average man need not be obliged to produce adequate proofs before he be allowed to have a rational certitude in the truth of Christianity. Moreover, experience shows that argumentation rarely leads to conversion. That result is not more astonishing than the fact that Christ's compelling miracles did not convince more than a handful of his contemporaries. The right moral state, fidelity to conscience, "love", as Newman is pleased to term it, is the all-important prerequisite for accepting Christianity. A man's head needs little proof if his heart is good. Such is the motif of the *Grammar of Assent*: "Non in dialectica complacuit Deo salvum facere populum suum".

Newman was the pioneer in this region of Apologetics and still remains the sole champion of the uneducated Christian's right to certitude in the vital supernatural assent of faith. In one who has pondered Newman's solution, the young Tractarians' battle-cry still wells up enthusiastically, "Credo in Newmannum". The solution is worthly of the psychologist of the *Apologia*.

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[8] I Peter 3:15.

THE "PERPENDICULAR PRONOUN" IN PREACHING.

NO doubt there are occasions which permit, or expect, or excuse, or even demand, a reference, prefatory or otherwise, to the personality or the experiences of the preacher.

I.

There are occasions which permit such a reference, either because custom sanctions it or the preacher deems some little explanation desirable. A lecturer needs not to exercise so much restraint, however, as a preacher; for there is not in his case the possibility of an apparent contradiction between the words of St. Paul, "We preach Christ crucified", and what may seem to be (if the personal reference is extensive) a preaching of himself by the preacher. Thus Monsignor Grosch, lecturing on "The Catholic Church the Mother of Learning" for the Islington Branch of the Catholic Federation, could appropriately preface his lecture with the customary expression of pleasure in accepting an invitation to lecture:

> It is a great pleasure to me to be able to comply with the request of the Islington Branch of the Catholic Federation, to address this meeting upon a subject which is closely related to one of the purposes for which that great Society was established, namely, the furtherance of those things which are of interest to us as Catholics . . . Catholics set as high an estimate upon secular knowledge as can be placed upon it by any . . . What I shall have the honor of placing before you this evening will show, I hope, that they claim it by reason of the rich inheritance of labors for education which the Catholic Church, their mother, has handed down to them.[1]

A lecture permits such references to the invitation extended to the speaker and his complimentary allusions to the Society which invited him. It may well be questioned if a similar kind of allusions would be permitted by good homiletic taste in the pulpit, even if the subject and the audience were the same. The traditional "compliment" in sermons has been relegated to the limbo of almost forgotten things—almost forgotten, but sometimes revived in the memory without, I think, quite sufficient reason.

[1] Grosch: *Sermons and Lectures.* London, 1911.

Sometimes, however, a prefatory explanation in the pulpit is desirable, as may be illustrated from the sermon on "Our Leper Brethren" delivered in the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater, by the same preacher. He begins the sermon with a striking thought:

> There are certain circumstances which usually come to the aid of one whose duty is to ask the alms of the faithful in charity, of which this morning I find myself deprived. . . . The objects of our general charity we see round about us; the poor we have always with us. Their pitiful lot is known to us, if not personally, at least from the work of such devoted followers of Christ as the Brothers of St. Vincent de Paul and the Sisters of Charity. The cry of the little children touches the chords of our hearts. . . . It is more difficult to plead for those whose appallingly wretched lot few of us have ever witnessed, whose existence in the world we scarcely realise, except, perhaps, when they are recalled to mind by reading the holy Gospels, where we find them the special objects of our divine Lord's pity and healing power. . . . And while the pleader is at this disadvantage, he finds no compensating knowledge in the possession of his hearers. It is possible, but it is exceedingly improbable, that some here present have seen a leper. . . . Yet if we could, there would be no more powerful incentive from a human point of view, to urge us to help the lepers, if only as an act of thanksgiving.

One is not called upon to comment on this moving appeal. What might at first glimpse appear to be a personal note of excuse for certain personal limitations in the speaker turns out in reality to be a splendid emphasis on the duty of almsgiving to the most wretched of all its possible objects. And I might add that in Monsignor Grosch's volume I have found only these two delightfully contrasting illustrations of the personal note—the one in a lecture, the other in a sermon.

II.

There are occasions which fairly expect the personal note. If a priest has preached at the laying of the cornerstone of a church and preaches again at the silver jubilee celebration of the church, he might well indulge in personal recollections in order to testify, from his own experience, to the changes brought about by time; by the good work of pastor and curates; by the invisible grace of God working miracles of visible fruits

in the congregation, in the neighborhood, or in the city or village itself.

If the preacher has been the object of misunderstanding, of unwise opposition or active hostility, and the pulpit is practically his only medium of self-exculpation, a just charity towards his hearers (if not, indeed, towards himself), would meet public expectation with just explanation. Obviously, however, the preacher is here under a strong temptation to go beyond the limits of prudence, not to say of good taste, in the *apologia pro vita sua*. His justified indignation may lead him into abusive language. A great self-restraint would be more judicious here in respect of the good end to be gained. A semi-hostile audience is easily further alienated by angry retorts. Even a sympathetic one may be chilled by the evidence of personal indignation, which it may mistakenly consider mere spleen. Human counsel would warn the speaker against such impolicy. Divine Wisdom warns him against uncharitableness.

If at this point I turn to a sermon of the great Savonarola for an apt illustration, I should ask my readers to consider it as a neutral example under the heading of personal references in relation to public expectation, and not as an example of unwise, impolitic, or uncharitable attack by a preacher on his antagonists. Circumstances alter cases. Had we been present at the sermon itself and followed the course of events leading up to it, we could better have entered into its true spirit and meaning than we of the present time may hope to do. The times and manners, too, were different. Howbeit, Savonarola's sermon on the Ascension of Christ, from the text of St. Luke (24:51), deals largely with the opposition encountered by the preacher and a vindication of his own course of action. Space permits of only a slight quotation:

> A story from the Old Testament might perhaps serve as a parable and make clearer what I mean. When Balak heard of Israel's march, he was afraid and sent to call Balaam to curse Israel for him. . . . Balak is the devil who would ruin the people of God; by Balaam we can understand the nobles, the prelates, the preachers, the learned, who are held captive by their arrogance. The two servants are those who follow the proud, serve them, and flatter them, especially the lazy clergy and monks, who so far as outward show

goes live a virtuous life, but who live for ceremonies and take care not to speak the truth. To these belong many citizens who live apparently virtuously and hide their pride. . . . By the ass we are to understand the simple people. They are led in the way of sin by the ceremonies of the lazy, since they are not thought fit for the worship of the heart, and must be led by masses, penance, and indulgences, and they throw away what might be of profit for money and for candles. The lazy give them counsel in their sermons: Give some vestment, build a chapel, and thou wilt be freed from any danger of going to hell. Do not believe these mountebanks; no outward act can bring you to Paradise, not even miracles and prophecy, but only the grace of God, if you have humility and love. . . . Our persecution begins if we begin to preach. But Jesus was willing to die for the truth of what He said. Should we forsake the truth in order to please men? No, we will say it in every way, and with Balaam's ass go into the field.

Think not that I am such a fool as to undertake these things without good reason. I call heaven and earth to witness against me if I do not speak the truth. For against all the world is my sermon; everyone contradicts it. . . . The lazy monks were the first who called me a fool and revolutionist. . . . Then I had war with the citizens and the great judges of this time, whom my manner of preaching did not please. . . . Ye know my persecution and my danger. . . .

In everything am I opprest; even the spiritual power is against me with Peter's mighty key. Narrow is my path and full of trouble. . . . But I named no one, I only blamed your vices in general. . . . Many knew me as I was at first; if I remained so I could have had as much honor as I wanted. I lived six years among you, and now I speak otherwise, nevertheless I announce to you the truth that is well known. You see in what sorrows and what opposition I must now live. . . . [2]

He goes on to point out the excellent results of his preaching—many learned men who had at first opposed him were now on his side; many hard and proud masters, noted men, had become humble disciples; many women had turned from vanity to simplicity, vicious youths from sin to virtue.

It is a long vindication of his preaching, a personal note carried throughout with various intonations and cadences. Save as a passing illustration here of this section of my paper, it be-

[2] Savonarola: *Sermon on the Ascension of Christ.* (Reprinted in Kleiser's *World's Great Sermons* from G. P. Putnam's *The World's Orations.*)

longs to the troubled history of a bygone age, and may be left at this point without further comment.

III.

There are occasions which excuse the personal note. In his Oxford Conference on "The Treatment of Heretics in the Middle Ages," Father Rickaby quotes St. Thomas Aquinas (2a 2ae, q. 10, art. 1) and continues:

> On this last remark of St. Thomas, as it is read in *Aquinas Ethicus*, i. 324, 325, I am responsible for the following Translator's note: "The hardest thing in the condition of men who have not the true faith is the difficulty of getting any grievous sin forgiven them. Still there may be, nay, there must be, channels of divine mercy, open to all men of good will." That note I propose to follow up.[3]

He could simply have referred to the note without necessarily pointing out what he terms his responsibility for it, and thus could have avoided the personal note. But something would have been lost to his argument, or at least to his pungent presentation of it. I am reminded of an anecdote concerning the learned and modest Monsignor Corcoran. He was testifying in the civil courts on a question of canon law. A lawyer asked him the meaning of a paragraph in the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, and contentiously pressed him to give a reason for his interpretation of the legislation in question: "Are you certain that it means what you say? Could not the Latin be translated differently?" The Monsignor replied modestly that he did not think so. "Why not?" asked the lawyer. "Well, because I wrote that Latin myself", replied the humble canonist. The personal note was pungently sounded—but gently withal. The question might indeed have been settled by an array of Latinists and canonists. The personal note was quite excusable in the circumstances, for it hastened the ending of the trial.

It may be that a certain pious playfulness, such as St. Francis de Sales occasionally indulged in (at least, in his writings), will permit an otherwise useless reference to self in a sermon—as, for instance, occurs in St. Gregory Nazienzen's sermon on the Holy Lights:

[3] Rickaby: *Oxford and Cambridge Conferences.* London, 1899.

I cannot restrain the pleasure of my rejoicing, but am lifted up in spirit and gladdened: and forgetting my own littleness, I strive to fulfill the office, say rather the service, of the great John, and so I leap with joy: and although I be not the Precursor, yet I come from the desert.[4]

He continues by discussing with wonderful art the baptism of Christ by John. The allusion to the Baptist leaping in his mother's womb in token of joyful recognition of Christ in Mary's womb is happy, indeed; but the further attempted similarity between the Baptist and himself, arising from the fact that both lived in the desert, is hardly anything higher than pious playfulness which a severe homiletic taste would excuse on the ground that *dormitat quandoque Homerus.*

IV.

There are occasions that demand the personal note. The story is told of an army chaplain who, during the Civil War, was ordered by General Butler to preach to a congregation of rebels in Norfolk. The chaplain's hearers might be considered naturally hostile to him, both because of his obviously Northern sympathies and of his displacement of their ordinary pastor. "My friends", began the chaplain in his first sermon, "I am here by no choice of mine. I came to your city as a chaplain, to look after the souls of my neighbors who are here, as I am, under military rule. I stand in the place of your honored pastor by command of my military superior; but I am a preacher of the same Christ whom you possess, and I ask you to hear me for His sake."[5] The gentle apology, spoken in season, gained him a respectful hearing for three months of preaching.

The demand may, however, be of very different character. It may be simply explanatory: as when, after a long absence, St. Bernard continued once more his great course of sermons on the Canticle of Canticles. Not merely his course of sermons, but even a particular sermon, had been interrupted by the summons of his ecclesiastical superiors, and had thus necessarily been abbreviated. The text was: "The righteous love thee", and the sermon begins:

[4] St. Gregory Nazianzen: *Sermon on the Holy Lights.*
[5] Quoted in Phelps: *The Theory of Preaching.*

At length, my brethren, and for the third time, I have come back to you from Rome. And this my last return has been attended with more auspicious omens, and more manifest indications of heaven's good-will. For the Lion [i. e. the antipope, Anacletus II, Peter di Leone, "whose schism", remarks the translator of the sermons into English, "against Innocent II the Saint was mainly instrumental in bringing to a close"] has ceased to rage, the power of evil has passed away, and peace has been restored to the Church. "In her sight is brought to nothing the malignant" who, for nearly eight years, kept her in a state of turmoil and confusion with his fearful schism. But shall it be to no purpose that I am brought back to you from such great dangers? No, my brethren, since I have been restored to your desires, I am willing and ready to help you along in your spiritual advancement. As I owe my life to the merit of your prayers, so I wish to live only for your interests and your salvation. Since, therefore, it is your desire that I should resume my lectures on the Canticle, begun so long ago, I willingly consent. But I judge it better to repeat and complete the last sermon, which I was forced to break off, than to enter upon something altogether new. Yet I am afraid that my mind, so long distracted and preoccupied with cares, as unworthy as they were various, is not in a condition to handle this subject in a manner befitting its dignity. "But what I have I give you." And to my faithful service God will be able to add that which I have not, in order that I may transmit it to you. In case He should not, then let my intelligence be censured, and not my good-will.[6]

Now it is clear that the earlier part of this exordium was fairly demanded by the circumstances which the Saint pointed out. The complimentary reference to his own indebtedness to his hearers because the merit of their prayers had saved his life, is also in traditional good taste. But the apology that follows ("Yet I am afraid that my mind" etc.) seems to be in some danger of falling under the censure declared by Father Keatinge in his volume of Retreat-lectures, "The Priest, His Character and Work" (pages 178-179):

A caution worth giving is, that you should seldom apologise for yourself, your presence, your subject, your sermon. "He began to state that he was unable to treat this great subject worthily," said one of the Oxford converts to a friend, "and he took three quarters of an hour to prove that proposition." Do not tell your hearers of your ignorance; leave them to find it out. Preachers, again, some-

[6] St. Bernard: *Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles.* (Eng. tr. Dublin, 1920.)

times hamper themselves by proposing to show that the subject they have chosen is appropriate to the occasion, and will go so far sometimes as to put it aside because it does not conform to this canon of theirs. *Hoc volo, hoc jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas* is reason enough for any sermon on ordinary occasions, provided that it contains what is worth saying.[7]

There was nothing ordinary, of course, about the occasion when the Saint began once more to address his hearers after the long and distracting interval that had elapsed since he had been compelled to cut short the previous sermon. The warning of Father Keatinge is, however, a good one, and leads me to another section of the present paper.

V.

The personal note is dangerous at times to the effectiveness of a sermon. If it be modestly self-depreciative, it may sound like mock-humility. If it is self-confident, it may appear to be self-laudatory. In truth, it may be neither of these things. For the humility may be genuine, and the self-confidence may be justified by a true reliance upon Divine assistance. It is not easy for us to probe the heart and the reins, and we are not to set ourselves up as judges of our fellow-men. This is correct in theory. But we have to consider the effect on others of "the perpendicular pronoun", as one humorist calls the first personal pronoun. The audience may not recall the warning of St. Paul against the human tendency to judge other men, or may recall it only to disregard it.

We may accordingly ask ourselves: What would be our first reaction to the following introduction to a sermon on All-Saints Day? Perhaps we should think that the speaker—especially if he be recognized as really a cultivated, scholarly, exceptionally gifted ecclesiastic—was guilty of mock-modesty:

> It was my desire to be silent, and not to make a public display of the rustic rudeness of my tongue. For silence is a matter of great consequence when one's speech is mean. Besides, it is an admirable thing to refrain from utterance, where there is lack of training; and assuredly he is the supreme philosopher who knows how to cover his ignorance by declining to speak in public. As I recognize how

[7] Keatinge: *The Priest, His Character and Work.*

poorly I speak, I should have preferred such a course. Nevertheless, the spectacle of the onlookers impels me to speak. Since, then, this solemnity is a glorious one among our festivals, and the spectators form a crowded gathering, and our congregation is one of high fervor in the faith, I shall face the task of commencing an address with confidence. And this I may essay all the more boldly, since the Bishop requests me, and the congregation is sympathetic, and the sainted martyrs with this object strengthen what is weak in me.

Our first reaction to such an exordium would probably be one of adverse criticism. The beginning is too long and is too self-depreciatory. It has an unreal sound, we should think, to our ears. Quite unnecessarily it manages to work into the Introduction the complimentary fact that the preacher is here to preach by request of the Bishop himself—no less! And the references to rudeness of speech and to lack of elocutionary training are quite contradicted by the elegant fluency of the exordium, not to speak of the splendor of both thought and diction attained in the body of the discourse. Such might be our thought. Although the sanctity of the preacher would, if we but recognized it thoroughly, save him from our untoward comment, and lead us to understand that his eminent abilities were housed in a truly humble soul, still (since we are unaware of all this) our judgment would likely be unfavorable. And such, we may well surmise, would be the verdict of an ordinary congregation if we ourselves were to indulge in so much of personal references. The sermon in question was delivered by St. Gregory Thaumaturgus,[8] who in his pagan youth was destined for the legal profession, prosecuted his studies in many cities renowned for their seats of learning, received a wide training in many branches of knowledge under Origen, studied philosophy, ancient literature, and biblical science, and became a convert to the Christian faith. Such was the man who apologized for the rustic rudeness of his speech. On the other hand, he was a man who humbly fled into solitude in order to escape the proffered episcopal dignity, and who with equal humility accepted that dignity when, as it seemed, it was offered him by the Divine Will. We can only hope that his hearers understood the self-depreciation correctly.

[8] St. Gregory Thaumaturgus: *Sermon on All Saints.*

In trying to find how the personal note may appropriately be introduced into our sermons whensoever the occasion may suggest or appear to demand it, we shall reflect that temperaments differ, and that what may sit well on one personality may become objectionable in the case of another personality; and that "circumstances alter cases". Good taste is an uncertain arbiter of such questions. And the purpose to be achieved by the speaker will be an important consideration.

VI.

We may be surprised, in reading the Acts of the Apostles, at the various manners in which the sermons or addresses were prefaced. The Pentecostal tongues made the multitudes marvel, "saying one to another, What meaneth this? But others mocking, said: These men are full of new wine." Peter answers them—how? By simply saying that the marvel was only a fulfilment of Joel's prophecy? No, he immediately takes up the mocking explanation of the new wine: "For these are not drunk, as you suppose, seeing it is but the third hour of the day: But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel", and proceeds to quote the prophecy in full, goes on to speak of Christ, of David's psalm, of the resurrection of our Lord "whereof we are all witnesses". Peter seizes upon the mocking explanation as a convenient peg whereon to hang his discourse.

Similarly, St. Paul speaks at Athens: "You men of Athens, I perceive that in all things you are too superstitious"—the personal note prominently brought forward, and continued in the account of his view of the many altars to the gods.

But a strong contrast is offered in the purely objective discourse of St. Stephen when accused of blasphemies, and in St. Paul's various pleas in self-defence. The Jews suborned men to say that they had heard Stephen "speak words of blasphemy against Moses and against God . . . and they set up false witnesses who said: This man ceaseth not to speak words against the holy place and the law." Stephen made no reply to the question of the high priest: "Are these things so?" He simply began a review of Jewish history which led to a direct accusation against his accusers. Quite differently did St. Paul answer his accusers (Acts 22:3-21) by a circumstantially de-

tailed account of himself and of his doings. This, too, in Acts 24 and 25.

All these, however, are exceptional cases, wherein the promise of Our Lord—the Dabitur Vobis—was wondrously applied. In our sermons we confront no such exceptional cases, and the personal note assuredly must be placed under critical scrutiny.

VII.

Certain points in this scrutiny forthwith appear. There is the question of years in the ministry. An old priest may naturally be permitted to indulge in many reminiscences of his pastorate or missionary life, not for the poor reason that garrulity is supposed to be a common or at least a very frequent characteristic of old age, but because his experiences have been many and wide and form for him a good basis for generalisations in his preaching. His sermons may well adopt the fatherly, informal, conversational, anecdotal character, and in such cases the perpendicular pronoun can hardly escape frequent repetition. The man of merely mature age will be more restrained, however; and the young priest will be well advised to forego the personal pronoun entirely, how peculiar and striking soever his experiences may have been by way of notable exception to the common lot.

Again, the sermon may, because of the occasion when it is delivered, partake largely of the character of an address. Here the personal pronoun is permitted, its frequency being determined by questions of convenience and simplicity, of adequate and peculiar illustration, and even of mere attractiveness. Self is not so much thrust forward here as almost inescapably assumed, and it is expected by the hearers. But here, again, "good taste" is to be the director and arbiter. Let me illustrate, not from a sermon, but from an address.

The Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs delivered three addresses, in response to a strong invitation to do so, at Union Theological Seminary, on "Conditions of Success in Preaching Without Notes." The addresses were published the same year (1875), and contain valuable suggestions derived from the speaker's experiences in breaking away from manuscript and even from notes in order to preach extemporaneously. It is no wonder, therefore, that the first personal pronoun should appear every-

where throughout the volume. Only turgid circumlocutions could prevent this. The lectures were delivered extempore, taken down by reporters, and slightly revised for publication. They serve to illustrate admirably the contentions of the lecturer in favor of extempore speaking. He prepared them for an auditory of candidates for the ministry, but found among his audience an unexpected gathering of much older and more experienced men. Shall we quarrel with the compliment bestowed on these older men? Does it smack of mock-humility in its self-depreciation? Doubtless surprised by their presence, the lecturer said:

> I am somewhat abashed, I confess, at finding so many present whom I had not come prepared to address: Professors, Secretaries, Clergymen, Lawyers, Editors, and others—many of them masters of every art and power of eloquence, as I am not, and far better qualified to instruct me on the subject than I am to give suggestions to them. But I shall not be diverted from the one purpose which has brought me hither—to talk familiarly to you. If what I am to say to you shall seem common-place, as very likely it will to these gentlemen whose presence I did not anticipate, I can only remind them that they are not here at my invitation, and that if they choose to take part of their purgatory in this life, and in this particular fashion, we cannot object.[9]

If the comparison between the speaker and his learned auditory was not justified by the facts, it would be considered traditionally allowable; for the traditional "compliment", like after-dinner oratory on jubilee occasions, is not expected to conform rigidly to truth.

What is freely granted to the dining-hall and, in good measure, to the platform is not, however, granted with equal facility or justice to the pulpit, although there may be considerable precedent for undoubtedly nauseous compliments spoken from the pulpit to high dignitaries of Church and State. But how do cultivated laymen regard our clerical compliments to one another? And yet it was not a layman, but a priest, who voiced his protest to me that "it is wonderful how much flattery ecclesiastics are expected to swallow."

Dr. Storrs was giving an address, not preaching a sermon. But even thus, a severe and justifiable taste might suggest

[9] Storrs: *Conditions of Success in Preaching Without Notes.*

the omission of all reference to the unexpected and distinguished auditory, and suggest to the lecturer to begin his address forthwith to those for whom alone it was prepared. The platform would permit of such direct treatment. It is largely a matter of taste. And of Dr. Storrs it should be said that his valuable book of six hundred pages on St. Bernard, and his Lectures as well, exhibit a cultivated regard for the churchly amenities so often notably absent from the works of our separated brethren. The continuity of the present paper may pardonably be broken in order to make this grateful acknowledgment; for we have only to compare the lectures by Dr. Storrs with those by Dr. John Hall,[10] delivered and published the same year (1875). The former sticks to his last; the latter flings it more than once at the Catholic Church.

But while a severely restrained style would exclude all such prefatory apologies as those illustrated in the above extract, it might appropriately permit of the repeated use of the perpendicular pronoun throughout the remainder of the lectures. First of all, they were lectures or, rather, familiar addresses, and were not sermons. They were conversational in style, and familiar discourse permits a large injection of the first personal pronoun. Of course, such a large injection may be overdone, and the dose that should have proved a stimulant may prove an overdose that produces either nausea or drowsiness. The large circle of acquaintances that received this overdose from a certain ecclesiastic knew his peculiarity and, whilst gently ridiculing it, withal tolerated it amiably enough. Although I knew him but slightly, I was aware of his peculiarity, and was not surprised that he should have displayed it on the occasion of the first visit he paid me. He spoke of the events leading up to the foundation of a certain institution, and added: "Quorum pars magna fui." Perhaps psychoanalysts could tell us, from this one example, the exact nature of his complex.

[10] Hall: *God's Word Through Preaching* (Yale Lectures on Preaching, 1875). He cannot conceal his dislike of "Romanism" and goes out of his way to show it. Thus: "Romanism in its various forms is a skillful travesty of the truth" (p. 24, footnote); "One need not wonder that the same perverted ingenuity that made necromancers, conjurors, and every variety of oracle in heathendom, and found for them some plausible foundation in the facts of human nature, should have turned the sacraments into the coarsest kind of fetish, as has been done in Roman Catholic countries" (p. 15, footnote); and the foolishly reasoned, as well as overly long, footnote on p. 25, etc.

Besides the natural freedom of expression permitted to familiar discourse, there is the matter of personal experiences that form the basis of the address. It is not natural for a speaker to narrate his experiences in the third person—although even here we find a most notable exception in the case of St. Paul's modest description: "I know a man in Christ above fourteen years ago . . . such a one caught up to the third heaven . . . that he was caught up into paradise, and heard secret words, which it is not granted to man to utter" (2 Cor. 12). Meanwhile, however, that wonderful Apostle uses the first person also in narrating his experiences.

Personal experiences will justify the use of the perpendicular pronoun. An illustration may again be found in the words of Dr. Storrs. I shall give them further on and parallel them with a revision that may show how—if it be desirable to do so—the first personal pronoun can be eliminated. "If it be desirable to do so"—for there is some danger of a resulting turgidity and unattractive circumlocution. There is force and directness in the "I" when it is not put forth vauntingly, but is employed with simple grammatical correctness to express a fact or an opinion. Even the "quorum pars magna fui" could be interpreted as largely a satisfactory reason for speaking at all.

On the other hand, there may easily arise an occasion in the young preacher's life when a simple and direct narration of experiences would be misinterpreted as self-laudation, and the "modesty of nature" especially attractive to behold in a young priest would be best subserved by indirect narration or by a studied application of rhetorical art. I am tempted to illustrate this manner of avoiding the use of what, in this connexion, can with peculiar appropriateness be styled "the perpendicular pronoun".

The words of Dr. Storrs could have been changed in some fashion as this:

Original Text.	*Revision.*
As I said, the suggestions which I make will be largely those derived from my personal experience. I do not know that you will find much profit in them, for I remember the remark of Coleridge that "experience is like the stern-light of a ship at sea: it enlightens only the track which has been passed over".	It may be well to say again that the suggestions to be made here will be largely those derived from my personal experience. You may not find much profit in them, for, as Coleridge reminds us, "experience is like the stern-light of a ship at sea: it enlightens only the track which has been passed over".

There are such differences between men, in temperament, habit, mental constitution, the natural and customary methods of work, that the experience of one may not suggest much of value to another, and I shall not be disappointed if mine is not very serviceable to you.	There are such differences between men, in temperament, habit, mental constitution, the natural and customary methods of work, that the experience of one may not suggest much of value to another, and a speaker should not be disappointed if his be not very serviceable to you.

In the first column, the perpendicular pronoun occurs five times; in the second column, it does not occur once. A slight additional emendation is the removal of "mine" from the second paragraph of the first column.

Now the young preacher will please note that the revision of the excerpt is intended merely as an illustration of how the art of rhetoric will enable a speaker to lessen the number of his personal pronouns, if such a lessening be desirable. The revision is not suggested as a bettering of the excerpt—for several facts must be taken into consideration in the present case: the long experience of the speaker in the very matter he is discussing, his mature age, the inexperience of his hearers, and their obvious youth. He was entitled to address them in a fatherly way, in the most direct phraseology, and without any just fear that they might look on the frequent repetition of "I" as a species of egotism. He evidently and (as I think) correctly made a distinction between the simplicity and directness of the repeated "I", and the real egotism that can lurk behind a carefully woven screen of reminiscence, when he went into lengthy detail in order to describe the gradual approaches he had made towards extemporaneous preaching, and apologised—not for the use of the "I" throughout, but—for the abundance of personal details in which he had indulged:

> I am afraid, Gentlemen, that you will think I have dwelt too long on this common-place experience of mine; but I have been asked to give you such suggestions as grow out of this, and so it seemed needful to tell you at the outset just what it had been. It is very unimportant, except as it gives me a certain right, perhaps, to speak of the relative advantages of the two modes of preaching—with notes, and without them. I hope I have not seemed egotistical in it, for my only desire is to serve and help you; and for that purpose, only, I have delayed upon the matter.

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THE ONENESS OF SAINTLINESS.

A CLOSE scrutiny of an old patchwork quilt does not give us the impression that it is a thing of any beauty, but rather a medley of multicolored fragments of fabric wrought into a heterogeneous whole. It is true the detailed analysis reveals that some of the individual pieces are of rich material, while others possess loveliness of color. Nevertheless the component parts are seen to be dissimilar in size, shape, tint or texture, and thus an incongruous contrast to their immediate neighbors. When the quilt is viewed as a whole, however, and at a correct distance, the general effect is far from displeasing. This conglomeration of shreds and patches is then seen to be a sort of mosaic, a variegation that is neither wholly bereft of beauty nor devoid of design, but exhibiting a general harmony.

Even so is it with the history of mankind—that great patchwork of human affairs still in the making—which is a conglomeration of all the past and present doings of empires and races, of nations and factions, of communities and individuals that compose the collective annals of the bygone generations and have been fast bound into the great volume of Time. For when a generation is individually studied, it stands out in bold contrast—sometimes striking a very discordant note—to that which immediately precedes or follows it. One generation is rich in merit, being morally glorious or intellectually great; another is impoverished in excellence, being religiously impotent or mentally fruitless; one is animated with meritorious movements and high-principled leaders; another is debased by demoralizing developments, adulterated with atrocious affairs, and made base by iniquitous individuals. But how different is our judgment of the world's history when, taking the field glass of comprehensive view, we survey it in its entirety, instead of concentrating the microscope upon a single century or an isolated movement.

It is the same with a picture. No masterpiece will have the beauty of its details—and the perfection of harmony of its whole—adequately appreciated unless it be hung at a correct height, viewed from the proper distance, and placed in the right light. And it is even thus with the world's history, of

which a full-length portraiture must be seen, and at the right angle, if an impartial and accurate estimate is to be formed of the moral value of either a nation's or an individual's views and actions.

The record of the human race, this immense product of mundane patchwork, composed of the multifarious ideas and actions of a variety of nations and individuals, widely separated by time and circumstances, will be found not only to have served a purpose, and had a bearing upon the generations that followed; but it also will be seen that each age—when brought within the focus of Providence, examined with the full and right light of Revelation thrown upon it, and viewed with Faith's keen and discriminating eye—is so intimately related to the rest as to have formed the whole into one great mosaic design that by the hand of Providence is being wrought into the picture of Time. Hence no generation, no individual, is absolutely exclusive or wholly isolated from the rest of humanity.

Well has James Martineau said: "All the grand agencies which the progress of mankind evolves are the aggregate result of countless single wills, each of which, thinking merely of its own end, and perhaps fully gaining it, is at the same time enlisted by Providence in the secret service of the world." This is equally true of a nation and of an individual. The former has its heredity no less than the latter. A nation derives much of the mentality of its masses, and a proportion of its prestige among the peoples of the earth, from the generations that preceded it, just as the individual inherits not a little of his characteristics and abilities from his forefathers. It is as old Thomas of Malmesbury remarked: "There is no action of man in this life which is not the beginning of so long a chain of consequences, as that no human providence is high enough to give us a prospect to the end."

The generations that have come and gone, with the doings and influence of the men and women who have lived and passed away, are then the woof woven into the great tapestry of Time; and each age is so dovetailed into all the preceding periods that even we have a certain connexion with and a very real interest in all the good and great of former times. For they have been in one or more particulars of their character an

exception to the general rule of human mediocrity. Their excellencies have thrust them forward in bright relief from the midst of the general surrounding ignorance, impotency or wickedness, and rightly entitled them to a permanent place of honor in the record of the nations. Some of these have gained fame because they have by their pen or their sword maintained or overthrown great empires, perishable kingdoms of a perishable world. But there are others that have gained still greater glory, who have merited renown in the moral sphere, those who will forever stand illustrious in the annals of the Christian Church, and whose names are enrolled in the eternal record of the everlasting kingdom. These are the worthies who have inherited an immortal honor. For, as Carlyle said, "Nothing that was worthy in the past departs—no truth or goodness realized by man ever dies, or can die." Truth and goodness are what they always have been and ever will be. Truth allies itself with the Deity, and assumes divine authority. It invests itself, as by association, with the divine attributes, and thus becomes authoritative, precluding all hesitation. Goodness really means a true fitness, or a completeness; therefore human perfection. And perfection is an attribute of the Godhead. A really good man is therefore a godly man, one who is humanly and morally perfect. And this is what we find about all the saints, whatever may have been the age in which they lived or the race to which they belonged.

Neither individuality nor idiosyncrasy constitutes religion or morals. Nor does true religion crush our individuality. Christianity does, however, clarify and consecrate it. Hence it is that some Christians exhibit one grace, and some another, in greater prominence than the other virtues. And thus we find that Abraham's faith, Moses' meekness, Job's patience, Daniel's courage, St. Peter's ardor, St. John's love, and St. Paul's zeal have become proverbial with us. Nevertheless, whether we study the lives of the prophets, or of the apostles, or of the later saints, we find a wonderful likeness in them all. This is one of the most remarkable features in hagiology and an incontrovertible testimony that truth and godliness are unchanging. Just as pieces of silk may vary in age, size, shape, color or weight, yet being composed of the same rich material are alike in texture, even so have the godly of all time

exhibited the same traits of thought, the same conception of character, the same perception of principles.

Although the saints have belonged to all ages, have been drawn from all ranks of life, have been found in all stages of society and have lived under all circumstances of trial, their lives have converged to the same loveliness and sublimity of character, they were prompted by the same principles and were moved by that one Invisible and Eternal Spirit, the Sanctifier of every sincerely spiritual soul. Notwithstanding the differences of national temperament and personal individuality the saints present a unity in diversity, and their lives have projected but one character, the Christlike one. They have exhibited to mankind the beauty of holiness and proved to the world that the eternal verities are the only things that really count and last. Robert Browning truly sung:

> And those who live as models for the mass
> Are singly of more value than they all.

It is therefore not less our duty than it is our privilege to study closely the lives of these peerless personages, and so arrive at the germ of their transcendent character; that, tracing the connexion between their private and public life, we may so learn to improve what we already have in common with them into that which they have peculiarly to themselves.

Godliness is a permanent type. It is the one type of humanity that unchanged has stood the test of time, that has survived the vicissitudes of the ages and emerged unimpaired. Other types have under stress of adverse circumstances manifested moral weakness, a distinct deviation shown by some compromise or camouflage or surrender. But not so with God's witnesses. Their citadel of Faith has been impregnable.

The world has knowledge of many of the bright stars that have scintillated in this glorious constellation of witnesses, but there have been multitudes more of whom no earthly record exists. God has not made all men in vain. In every generation there have been some that have heard God's voice, who have walked in His ways. There was ever a remnant that worshipped not Mammon nor bowed the knee to Baalam. The Old Dispensation had its religious representatives and the New has been blessed with spiritual leaders. The sons of God of

the former age join hands with the children of light of this latter era, and thus form the Communion of Saints, that glorious spiritual brotherhood which unites the ages and links earth with heaven.

All the men and women who in all ages have been distinguished by their great godliness have been remarkable for moral muscularity. There was neither pusillanimity nor vacillation in their character. They remained firm to the faith and were true to type. This has been abundantly proved by the death of the martyrs and the lives of the saints. The fires of persecution failed to change their creed, the floodtide of tyranny could not quench their faith. They remained calm, confident and consistent to their confession amid the heat of intense hatred, were callous to the blast of scorn, preserved their belief when writhing under the pangs of want and hunger, and held fast to their religion when threatened by the fury of temptation. What other religion has shown, and been able always to show, such solidity of moral excellence under the most excruciating circumstances?

The consecrated Christian character verily is the permanent type, and one that always is true to type, but it also is the supreme type. It draws a sharp line of demarcation between those who follow the Messianic model and such as are disciples of other religious or philosophical systems and modes of life. This difference may be illustrated by the contrast between a steamer and a sailing ship. Even when both have the same objective in view, how different is the course taken by each in reaching the desired haven. Regardless of the state of the sea, indifferent to the winds and waves, the steamer ploughs through the billows and maintains a straight course throughout the voyage. The sailing ship is at the mercy of the weather, sometimes being becalmed, at others obliged to tack ere she finally reaches her destination, and then only after a long and devious passage. Similarly the non-Christian and the worldly man may gain their heart's desire, attain their ideal, succeed in reaching their goal, but by how tortuous a track and at how great a moral cost! What scheming is resorted to! What compromises are conceded! How many principles have first to be cast overboard! The ideal Christian adopts no trimming of his sails, he is no turncoat. Equivocation, dissimula-

tion, vacillation and subterfuge have no place in his creed. He is a man of moral backbone, of conscientious constitution and with a pure-principled physique. Therefore his life is upright, his words direct and all his actions are straight. One may always know how a godly man will act under any given circumstances. The Christian is always the safest man in a moral crisis, and the sanest during any social or political revolution. And notwithstanding the diversities of individual disposition and temperament, of national traits and prejudices, the God-fearing man is of the same type throughout the ages. He is characterized by a oneness of principle, a singleness of purpose, a directness of aim and identity of ideal. He is ever moulded after the same pattern, bears the same seal, and it is this impress that sets the same high moral value upon each.

What is this impress that, while it differentiates these great godly ones from the rest of humanity, stamps them with the same likeness to one another? It is holiness, that spiritual attribute "without which no man shall see the Lord" (Heb. 12:14). St. Paul tells us that Christ is the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of His person. This being so, no man could without holiness catch the vision of God's brightness any more than he can endure to gaze at the sun's meridian glare. God is holy and the spirit must first be akin to that attribute ere it could endure the brightness of God's holiness, otherwise it would be a spiritual impossibility and a moral torture. Conscience would writhe under the ordeal. Holiness is humble and does not advertise itself. At the same time it is both searching and potent. It is not the entrancing and far-resounding note of the nightingale nor the glaring and arresting brilliance of the dahlia, but it is the sweet and subtle fragrance of the modest violet, the perfume of which, though a hidden secret, censes the whole air around. Holiness is not the deep-toned and far-sounding boom of the danger bell on some isolated rock, but the bright light of a pharos shining steadily and silently through the night, its beams illuming the ocean's darkness. It is, as the Bible tells us, "a light set on a hill, that cannot be hid". For as the rays of the sun fill the floweret's tiny chalice as well as flooding the welkin's vast dome with light, and as the all-pervading gleams penetrate and purify the cotter's hut no less than the

monarch's palace, even so does a really religious life radiate its refining and refulgent rays upon the moral darkness around.

Man's proper moral sphere is holiness. For this he is intended. Man was made in the image of God, and therein he differs from the rest of creation, but he has been thus made that he might show forth the glory of God. All the works of God show forth His glory and are a revelation of Him, but man was created to proclaim God's glory in a particular way. We may liken the universe to some grand cathedral, and creation to the windows in it. Some of these windows are large, others small; some one shape, some another; some are placed in a position of greater prominence and honor than others; and some are of plain glass, while others are stained, rich in coloring and embellished with beautiful designs. All let in the light, but the chief purpose of the latter is to display their exquisite beauty and convey some teaching to the beholder. But to do this to perfection the sun must be brightly shining through the glass. Man is the stained-glass window, different, more beautiful and far more precious than all the plain windows (the lower creation). But even he does not show forth the full beauty intended and possible unless the brightness of holiness shines through him.

This side of eternity, holiness is a mystery. Hence the godly man has ever been an enigma to the world. The religion Christ preached and practised was not only a distinct type but it also was a new idea to the world. The introduction of the Christian character came upon mankind as a religious phenomenon. The world had never heard of, nor had it even imagined, a religion which is "not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life". Not even the Jews, although they had received an ages-long preparation for it, could comprehend this climax to the Old Dispensation. Hence was Christ "unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness".

St. Paul says, "Great is the mystery of godliness", and he immediately proceeds to explain what this mystery is: namely, that "God was manifest in the flesh"; Holiness itself become incarnate. So that, as we have said, holiness is a mystery, and it is so because it is an effulgence and also a veil. In very many instances where the Bible speaks of the glory of God it

refers to the ineffable brightness of God's transcendent holiness, which no mortal eye can bear the view. Hence when Moses said, "I beseech Thee, show me Thy glory", God's answer was, "Thou canst not see My face, for there shall no man see Me and live". And this explains why our first parents after the fall hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God when they heard His voice in the garden. It was the sense of their alienation from God. They had lost holiness, therefore could not bear to see His face. They had bartered immortality for mortality and no mortal can endure a vision of the Deity unveiled. This was the truth taught by the Shechinah and the cloud in the Tabernacle, that the Divine Presence was there but screened by a material element. An effulgence, but veiled. And, although the Shechinah was not present in the second Temple, the Jews expected its return in the days of the Messiah. The Incarnation was the fulfilment of this expectation. One of the reasons for the Incarnation was that Deity might be rendered visible to man. "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory." The son of a carpenter, the despised Nazarene, had no earthly glory. His was the glory of the Deity, but that effulgence was veiled by the flesh in order that man might be able to know and see God. The glory of the ineffable Holiness was indeed sometimes revealed more clearly as at the Transfiguration when the pent-up glory burst through its earthly vessel and so shone through Christ's flesh as to give a radiance even to His garments. He was the Shechinah, veiled in the Flesh. Moses could not be permitted to have a clear vision of perfect Purity, of the dazzling brilliance of ineffable Holiness, for the time of the Incarnation was not yet come. Moses must await the Nativity. Therefore he was not to behold the Consubstantial Word then, but his spirit would behold it at a later age and on another mountain at the Transfiguration. Even the privileged Disciples were slow to realize this mystery of holiness. They were drawn to Christ by the uniqueness of His personality. They recognized in Him a superman, not only a great or the greatest of prophets—for even they had wrought miracles—but perhaps as One who was even greater than the prophets. What they were so long in learning was that Christ, this intensely holy and perfect Person, was God made in the likeness of men.

St. Thomas never did fully believe it until after the Resurrection. Deity partly revealed and partly concealed was an enigma to them. The Incarnation was unintelligible to the leaders of the Jewish Church also. Nothing was so remote to their ideas as that the long-expected Messiah should be God manifest in the flesh; hence they were always demanding a sign from heaven and constantly challenging Christ's divinity.

As their Master was such a mystery to the world, so have the saints always been to their own generation. Holiness is an exotic on earth. Mankind has not yet fully learnt the mystery of its nature, the secret of its source of life, the peculiarity of its manner of growth. The Christian character is wholly foreign to the world. Holiness is utterly at variance with mundane ideals, for, as St. Paul says, "What communion hath light with darkness!" What an antithesis! Could there be a greater contrast? Can the mind of man conceive any two things that are more antagonistic to one another? Light and darkness cannot exist together. One or the other is totally banished. The unveiling of the one is the eclipse of the other. There is no such condition as a vacuum in the spiritual sphere. Hence has Christ said, "He that is not with Me is against Me."

As light and darkness then cannot coalesce, the Christian character demands a certain aloofness from the world; and this may be more or less, as determined by the temperament and environment of the individual, being in some extreme cases, where the circumstances are exceptional, an absolute renunciation of the world, and which may be either perpetual or for a limited period, as conscience dictates. But the call to holiness comes to every Christian, and this is not met by mere morality. The classic illustration of this truth is the Gospel incident of the rich young ruler who asked Christ what he must do to inherit eternal life. He was neither a fanatic nor a hypocrite, but a fine specimen of truthfulness and purity, morally lovely and of good report. He was a ruler of the synagogue, president of its chapter, therefore orthodox and dutiful in his religion and a strict moralist, for he observed all the commandments, and yet even he lacked holiness. There was wanting that willingness to give up what was dearest to him, to renounce everything if God required it to be given up when the holding of it was inconsistent with fidelity to Him. "Where

your treasure is," says the great Searcher of hearts, "there will your heart be also." Either in heaven or on earth, not both. A man's heart can be but in one place. His affections cannot be centred both on heaven and on earth. The young ruler thought it possible to make the best of both spheres. He wanted heavenly treasure concurrent with his earthly wealth. He lacked singleness of intention. This perfect moralist was not prepared to make the full consecration that holiness demands and which has been such a marked feature in the lives of all the saints. For as the monk has his triple vow and triple duty, so the Christian must, if he desires spiritual perfection, first possess the great triple virtue that is essential. There must be an all-absorbing love toward God, an indomitable faith that remains unshaken against the greatest odds, and the holiness of pure motives and a hallowed life. It is not without significance therefore that the New Testament designations of a Christian correspond to the three cardinal graces so essential to the soul's salvation. Christians are therein called (1) saints, bespeaking holiness; (2) believers, implying faith; (3) brethren, denoting love. This triad of graces stamps a similitude on all God's saints. It is the one feature attaching to them severally and collectively. Each has the same permanent essence indwelling within a different individuality. The essence is unquestionable, although the personality may be open to criticism. And this characteristic that is common to all the saints is attained and explained by St. Paul's exhortation to the Romans: "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind". And to the Galatians he says: "Until Christ be formed in you". So the Christian is to be the Christlike man. "As the bird life builds up a bird, the image of itself, so," says Professor Henry Drummond, "the Christ Life builds up a Christ, the Image of Himself, in the inward nature of man." The living Christ enters into the man's soul and dwells therein, His presence presiding over it, His principles permeating it. The miracle of man's creation is repeated. As Adam then derived his spiritual nature direct from God by the Almighty breathing the spirit of life into his nostrils, so when the spirt of Christ enters the soul it infuses the man with spirituality. He is a new creature, having been spiritually recreated. This gives intense meaning and

solemn import to St. Paul's warning to the Corinthians when he says, "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are". And again later on in the same Epistle, "Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own?"

The Christian character is a conformity to the mind of Christ, and it is this conformity to type that gives the wonderful oneness to saintliness. It brings the soul into very close individual relation to God so that all its motives are animated and all its deeds actuated by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. It is this that constitutes holiness which is the God-mark by which the saints of every age are distinguished and which made them a spiritual force to their generation. For there is a moral omnipotence in holiness. No alloy attaches to it. Holiness is no counterfeit. It is not an amalgam of hypocrisy and sophistry. It always has the true ring of sincerity and worth. It is self-evident. Wherever holiness is present it becomes its own evidence, no more needing proof of its existence than the lighted candle does that it is giving illumination. Holiness is truth and virtue embodied in one person. No sophistry can deny it and no argument can belittle its moral worth. It lives in all ages, grows in all climes, speaks in all languages and appeals to all races. There was a wealth of philosophy expressed by the poor Irish convert who when asked by the priest, "What is holiness?" replied, "Please, your Reverence, it is to be clean inside." If the life is clean, the light of holiness will shine through it, shedding spiritual radiance around. It is when the glass is blackened by smoke that the light of the lamp fails to be illuminating and guiding. This illustrates the difference between the sinner and the saint. One is a getter, the other a giver. One tries to squeeze all the good he can out of the world; the other endeavors to put all the good he can into the world. The worldling is a selfish absorber; the godly man is a generous dispenser. When an object reflects no light it is black; when part of the rays are reflected the color is blue, indigo or red; but when all the rays are reflected it is white. Similarly the perfect Christian char-

acter reflects all the rays of righteousness, presenting a "white" man, a clean type of humanity. This explains the white robes of the saints in glory, also the Transfiguration radiance of Christ's countenance and raiment.

The sphere of spiritual activity may be restricted, the influence of religion may be weakened, its lustre dimmed, its worth discounted by that fickle and often erratic tribunal known as public opinion, but the power of individual holiness will never be diminished nor the radiance of personal virtue ever be eclipsed. These are the good seed that have the germ of spiritual life and growth within them, and spirit cannot die, is never annihilated. Whatever makes for the general and lasting good of the world, that ultimately must prevail. And, as Bacon has said, "There never was found in any age of the world either philosophy, or sect, or law, or discipline which did so highly exalt the public good as the Christian faith".

Christianity was sharply enough tested at the outset. In the centuries that have followed it has had to endure every form of threat, hindrance and suffering. Worldlings have scoffed at it, critics have dissected it, and atheists have denied it. And yet Christianity has surmounted every obstacle and survived every crisis. While principalities have been precipitated, philosophies exploded, and political panaceas proved phantoms, Christianity has endured. Time has not effaced its existence. Persecution has not diminished its vitality. Science has not dethroned its credentials.

The evidence of the centuries is an eloquent and undeniable testimony to the power and permanence of Christianity, of its moral worth to the world and of its divine origin. It has asked and received the sacrifice of noble and richly equipped lives; its influence and spirit have enabled men and women to welcome the fire and the sword. Christianity still wields a power over the hearts and wills of men. It asks and still receives the sacrifice of lives that might have been spent amid all the comforts and pleasures that modern life can most innocently give, to the most distasteful and exacting duties. A sincere and soul-absorbing love toward God has not died out in the world. This noblest and purest of sentiments, this deepest and loftiest of all affections, still remains the sovereign spirit among men and rises to the master principle of their

lives. Christianity is a deep-rooted and healthy tree, its strong and tenacious fibres still having a firm hold on man's moral nature. It still is the only real and permanent leaven of society, the one cure for personal perversity, the sole remedy for public pollution. Holiness will ever remain the immaculate ideal, the perfect pattern of living. Ages have not marred its beauty. Time has not robbed it of its essence. Amid all the revolutions of empires and the disorders of nations, amid the seething sins of society and the abject apostacies of man, holiness has stood unshaken and unsullied amid the cataclysms of moral corruption. The Christian character is still extant and Christianity is still effective. Never has any school of philosophy, any system of principles, any political reform, wrought such a beneficial influence upon mankind or had a more lasting effect upon the world. The strength of Christianity lies in its perfection. Other religions have given preponderance to different principles, have unduly exaggerated certain virtues and so influenced man in one direction or another, but Christianity influences the whole man, cleansing and controlling all the springs of his heart, every avenue of his mind, the whole of his desires and deeds.

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Studies and Conferences

Questions, the discussion of which is for the information of the general reader of the Department of Studies and Conferences, are answered in the order in which they reach us. The Editor cannot engage to reply to inquiries by private letter.

THE VOLUNTEER CHOIR.

The great majority of choir singers are such because it offers a comparatively easy method of hearing Mass; some like to display their voices; a considerable number take pleasure in singing apart from any idea of personal remuneration, and an almost negligible few because they wish to dignify the service and honor God.

This is the conclusion reached by a choir singer and director of twenty years' experience in different parts of the United States, and this unhappy condition is perhaps largely the result of the style of church music that has been used for many years past.

One answer to this state of affairs, and indeed the official one of the Church, is Gregorian music, and the establishment of a Gregorian choir is by means impossible, in spite of certain difficulties at the outset.

Here is how the problem was attacked by a new pastor in one small parish in the Southwest, with what success may be judged from results. His sole assets, beyond his own work, were an assistant well acquainted with chant but no enthusiast, and a few young girls who some years before had learned a little Gregorian music.

After a year's work he has:

(1) A young ladies' choir which is proficient in the Masses "In Festis Solemnibus 2," "In Festis B. Mariae V. 1," "De Angelis," "Missa pro Defunctis," "In Dominicis Infra Annum," "In Dominicis Adventus et Quadragesimae," "In Feriis per Annum;" also the "Royal Mass" of Dumont, besides Vesper psalms and Compline, and incidental Gregorian hymns. They also sing the Proper of the Sunday to the music of Tozer. They have come to regard the Proper as an interesting and important part of the Mass, instead of an idiosyncrasy of the

pastor, and regularly read a translation before starting to practise.

(2) A junior choir of girls under fifteen, who sing the first four Masses named in the preceding paragraph, as well as the ferial Mass. These make no effort to sing the Proper, except for the Requiem, simply chanting it in a monotone. They have, however, just learned the Proper for Christmas, "Puer natus est," complete.

(3) About one hundred children of the catechism class who sing the Ordinary of the ferial Mass and the Requiem. These are mostly in the first and second grades of the public schools and, as they cannot be expected to read any Latin, are not given anything to do with the Proper.

It will readily be seen that with such a repertory of Masses and three different choirs, High Masses are frequent, and it is chiefly to this fact that the pastor ascribes the results achieved. High Mass is sung as often as reasonably possible. It is encouraging to a working group to be called upon to perform, and the pastor had little ones make their early appearances at the week-day Masses requiring neither Gloria nor Credo. A High Mass in the style usually rendered seems—and frequently is—a very formidable thing for untrained singers, whereas a Mass consisting of Kyrie, Sanctus, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei, in straightforward music without unnecessary repetitions, is very simple—simpler than the four or five hymns that children's Masses usually offer, and the children are much interested in coming to Mass when they feel that they have an official standing; in short, when they take an actual part in the Mass, as the Church desires.

The two priests trained the two older choirs, and the little ones were handled by an enthusiast of the senior choir. By far the greater part of the work, even of the senior choir, was done without accompaniment. The singers simply listened, and imitated the voice of their teacher. The children were for the most part unable to read, but it is easy to memorize Kyrie, Sanctus, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei.

A major advantage possessed by this particular priest was that his senior choir of a dozen young women was able and willing to come to several short rehearsals a week. This condition told, as the priests, as above stated, conducted the

rehearsals themselves, making them as interesting as possible and wasting no time. Simple explanations were given of the changing ritual, and in the frequent High Masses during May the responsibility, to a limited extent, of finding the Proper of the day was given to the girls, which they seemed to find quite interesting.

The pastor refused to be disturbed by the fact that the first few times the children sang, the effect was not all that could be desired, and that some excellent members of the congregation complained that they could not hear Mass with any devotion. A general cannot expect to win a victory without at least minor casualties, and he was confident that in the long run the same persons who objected would appreciate the children's singing. Of course the little ones sang only on weekdays when there was another Mass which the more sensitive members of the congregation could attend.

Choirs of this sort are of great benefit to themselves, the congregation, and the priest. A pastor is not wholly at the mercy of a few temperamental, non-professional singers who probably have many other engagements of duty and pleasure and are consequently unreliable. Also illness, matrimony, and other acts of God and man frequently make the attendance of a necessary soprano or leading alto impossible, and a tenor who has not a resident frog in his important throat to chirp up on his most insistent dates is a fascinating rarity.

A High Mass can be sung creditably with what voices are present, and the system once learned, a less amount of rehearsing is fundamentally necessary than with the more elaborate compositions. One difficulty with these latter is that they need more rehearsing than they generally get.

To a congregation whose ears are at all accustomed to the plain chant, a fairly well rendered Gregorian Mass is much less distracting as a rule than the figured Masses; also the music survives much more repetition than the unintellectual, sentimental music which too often is sung.

The merits of plain chant, in spite of its unpopularity among small, unstudious choirs, are many, and especially evident in volunteer organizations. Most choirs of this type have difficulty in securing even fair voices to fill the four parts of a quartette and an equal difficulty in assembling them for suffi-

cient rehearsals. An even greater obstacle is the securing of singers of sufficient musicianship to execute even indifferent part music well.

Gregorian is one-voiced; the Masses are short and of limited compass, and can be sung by one voice or ten.

That it is a beautiful, dignified, and an original type of music, much more in line with the best modern compositions than is the so-called operatic or sentimental ballad type of church music, should add a certain interest to it. But its chief theoretic claim to recognition is that it is an excellent medium for the office of the Church, especially designed therefor, and that it is in accord with the expressed wishes of the Vatican.

That there are many difficulties in the way of establishing liturgically correct church music with adult volunteer choirs is undeniable. Many of them are so rigidly inured to a different type of music that the plain song is not pleasing to them, and they prefer the figured Masses and sentimental hymns to an adherence to the ritual and Gregorian tonalities; and the adult singers who will willingly resign their own musical preferences for those of Pope and pastor are few. Also the choir singer is ultra-conservative, and has a great distaste for the unaccustomed. To establish the singing of the Proper in any form by the choir frequently requires time, energy, and diplomacy enough to launch or avert a full-fledged war. Furthermore, the congregation needs to become accustomed to anything so strange and startling as the simple plain song used for centuries before Cherubini and Massenet and Mascagni thought about being born.

Let us hasten to say that neither choir nor congregation is wholly to blame for its reactions in this direction. Gregorian music was unfortunately almost entirely neglected until Pius X's pronouncement, and too frequently the examples presented have been a caricature of the noble chant in its original intent. And as to the Proper, to those improperly trained in the construction of the Mass, the beautiful, changing ritual is often quite unknown in English, and the singing of it in Latin to unaccustomed tongues is another hurdle.

Some Gregorian Masses are difficult, but even the most difficult are not more so than the four-part Masses the average choir sings. On the other hand, a combination of the Ferial

Kyrie, and the Lenten Ferial Sanctus, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei can be taught to third-grade children in three rehearsals without any music, text, or accompaniment. This is sufficient for a Votive Mass, and children having accomplished so much in a public performance are usually willing to work for more. Then the fact that, as in the instance noted, a group of young women, none of them musicians, can learn eight Gregorian Masses, besides Vespers and incidentals, in a year's choir work, demonstrates the fact that Gregorian is not especially difficult.

One may say that the benefit to the choir of this style of music is commensurate with its capacity. They can thus have a repertoire of brief Masses ready for instant use. They can sing without the major distractions of a self-conscious soloist. The possession of this particular repertoire need not bar them from learning such number of liturgically correct figured Masses as they find possible or desirable. They will have enriched their minds with a classic and scholarly music which is no bad antidote to the frequently somewhat shallow commonplaceness of so-called religious music. And in obeying with simplicity the regulation of the Church, they may make of the singing of the Mass the "sursum corda" it should be, and is, for the chorister whose music is a joy, whose song is a prayer.

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PROHIBITED TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

Qu. In my studies of the Bible I have been using, besides the Douay version, some English translations, such as the "Modern Reader's Bible" (Macmillan) and the "Temple Series" (Lippincott), which, while lacking distinct approbation from Catholic authority, are greatly helpful both for the understanding of certain parts and for their handy form. A priestly friend tells me that such helps are against the ecclesiastical law of prohibited reading. Can my confessor or the pastor dispense from this law in such cases, or must I apply to the bishop?

Resp. Whilst the canons of Church Law forbid the indiscriminate reading of popular versions of the Bible, because they can offer no safe guarantee against mistranslations affecting divinely authorized teachings of the Bible, the use of such

versions by serious students for the purpose of comparison or study is permitted at all times without special authorization. It is assumed that such versions do not actually endanger the reader's faith, based upon definite Catholic doctrine as distinguished from individual opinion. Only editions of the Bible issued by authors who in the context, prefaces, and notes accompanying the version, oppose and attack, by misinterpretation, the authorized teachings of the Church, come under the law of prohibited books, as they tend to destroy truth, albeit under pretext of criticism. Otherwise there is perfect freedom, as expressed in Canon 1400, regarding the use of such versions for those "qui studiis theologicis vel biblicis quovis modo operam dant".

CHANT OF PREFACE OF A PRIVATE VOTIVE MASS.

Qu. The Preface of a votive (private) Mass has to be chanted as the rubrics prescribe, in the ferial tone. What if there is no ferial chant of the Preface in the missal?

Resp. In that case the celebrant is to follow the notation as found in the Missal, whether it be of the solemn Mass or the Common. (Cf. *Ephem. Liturg.*, III, p. 332.)

STEARINE CANDLES ON THE ALTAR.

Qu. At our clerical meeting recently there was a discussion about stearine candles as liturgical lights. I maintained that such candles have ever been prohibited not only as substitutes for wax candles but also as additional lights to the prescribed *cerei*. They answered me that everybody uses them—and everywhere, even at Rome—altars sometimes being banked up with them. Then they asked: "Habesne textum?" and indeed I had a personal note to that effect, but, not being backed with proper references, it was not accepted.

Could the REVIEW, semper paratus and ever helpful, cover the subject of stearine candles for me? I looked through all my volumes, but as I am a subscriber only since 1925 I have reason to believe that the subject was probably treated long before then.

Resp. The rubrics of the Missal, the *Caerimoniale Episcoporum* and many decrees and answers of the Sacred Congregation of Rites prescribe that candles (*cerei*) of beeswax (*ex cera apum*) be exclusively used on the altar. Throughout

the nineteenth and the present century, however, official interpretation has been given at different times, authorizing the use of candles made in greater part of beeswax, but mixed with some other substance in proportions the determination of which is left to the discretion of the Ordinary.

But, besides the prescibed *cerei* and in addition to them, can other candles be used, made in whole or in greater part of some baser substance, like stearine; or can other means of lighting be employed, such as oil, gas or electricity? Many times, from 1850 to our days, has the Sacred Congregation of Rites been asked that question. Its answers are scattered through many pages of the *Decreta authentica,* so that a little treatise *De Luminariis* could be written by just patiently collecting all these answers and using them as a basis. But all these answers are strikingly consistent and in accord with our correspondent. Stearine candles, as well as any other kind of lights, are "prohibited not only as substitutes, but also as additional lights to the prescribed *cerei*". They may indeed be used for illumination and ornament, but not on the altar. One might distinguish between the altar proper, that is, the *mensa,* or altar table, and the shelves, or gradines, and, in this case, could stearine candles be lawfully placed on the altar gradines? Approved authors generally do not make that distinction; only Mgr. S. Many, in his *Praelectiones de Missa,* page 238, restricts the meaning of *super altari* to the altar table, and would, therefore, allow a display of lights of different sorts on the altar gradines. Still, if we observe that the Sacred Congregation of Rites prohibits the mixing of wax candles with other lights for ornamental display, and that the display is usually made on the altar gradines ("altars sometimes being banked up with them"), the interpretation of the learned canonist would seem somewhat contradictory to the intent of the legislator.

That "everybody uses them everywhere, even at Rome" may be quite true; but it is true also that repeated acts of disobedience to law do not nullify the law; nor can a "custom" be legitimately created in this matter, because the law has been so frequently asserted of recent years, that no prescription is possible, for, according to canon 27, § 2, "*consuetudo quae in iure reprobatur non est rationabilis*".

ABBREVIATING THE FORM OF ABSOLUTION.

Qu. When a busy pastor goes out on Saturday night and finds the usual crowd waiting to go to confession, just how much of the regular "formula absolutionis" is he justified in omitting?

The Ritual says: "Justa de causa omitti potest 'Misereatur,' etc., et satis est dicere 'Dominus Noster Jesus Christus,' etc., ut supra, usque ad illud: 'Passio Domini Nostri', etc."

Sabetti says: "Preces Misereatur, etc., et Indulgentiam, etc., absque peccato semper omitti possunt. Idem etiam dicendum de orationibus quae absolutionem sequuntur: sed . . . convenit ut quam rarissime omittantur. Verba autem Dominus Noster, etc., non videntur posse omitti sine culpa veniali, nisi necessitas urgeat."

Matharan (Castillon) says: "Preces praeviae, Misereatur et Indulgentiam, atque etiam Dominus Noster, absque ulla culpa, justa de causa, omitti valent. Preces tandem subsequentes, Passio Domini, etc., . . . ne omittantur, nisi justa de causa.

Vermeersch says: "Orationes Misereatur, Indulgentiam, . . . ne omittantur sine justa causa. Hanc causam tum penuria temporis, tum multitudo poenitentium facile praebent. . . . Nec constat eum peccare qui omiserit D. N. J. C. te absolvat, etc., si nulla censurae sit suspicio . . . formula Passio D. N. J. C. non imponitur quidem utenda sub peccato, sed eadem adhibere praestat propter spiritualem poenitentis utilitatem."

Arregui cites the text of the Code: "Etsi preces ab ecclesia formulae absolutoriae adjunctae, ad ipsam absolutionem obtinendam non sint necessariae, nihilominus, nisi justa de causa (ut esset frequens concursus poenitentium), ne omittantur."

Tanquerey says: "Omissio prioris partis formae, quae respicit absolutionem censuris, gravis esse potest . . . " Then he cites the Code, and then: "Unde de facili non debemus has formulas omittere sine rationabili causa, praecipue orationem 'Passio', etc."

May we conclude from all this that the crowd of penitents that is present in city churches practically every Saturday is sufficient reason for the confessor to omit Misereatur, Indulgentiam, Dominus Noster, and Passio, and content himself with giving the bare form "Deinde ego te absolvo a peccatis tuis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen"?

Resp. No. The conclusion is too general. The tendency to-day is to cut the whole process short: the confessor hurries and hurries the penitent, and this should not be encouraged. Press of time and strain on the confessor are "causae justae", but they are to be judged in individual cases. The whole form

is the norm, as it is the ritual of the sacrament. It takes fifteen or twenty seconds. At most ten seconds can be saved, or about five minutes an hour by priests who say they hear at the rate of thirty an hour. This is expeditious indeed; but the saving on individual confessions or in the aggregate is not a convincing *causa justa*. The penitent should be allowed, or be told to say the Act of Contrition audibly, and the confessor can usually say the whole form meanwhile.

Strain and fatigue are much more real considerations and constitute reasons for cutting down the form. Let the confessor apply these for himself.

MASSES AT FORTY HOURS' ADORATION.

Qu. Ordos, reviews and liturgical books have in recent years and until lately given seriously conflicting information concerning the Masses to be celebrated in connexion with the Forty Hours' Adoration. As I understand new regulations have recently been issued in the matter, I feel sure that the readers of the REVIEW would appreciate a clear summary of these somewhat complicated rules.

Resp. Whenever the Ordo of the day permits it, the Forty Hours' Adoration is celebrated with three solemn votive Masses: the votive Mass of the Blessed Sacrament on the first and the third day; the votive Mass *pro pace* on the second day. All three Masses must be solemn or at least *cantatae,* unless an Apostolic indult which has been granted to several dioceses in the United States authorizes the substitution of low Mass. The mode of celebration of these three votive Masses follows the rules laid down for the solemn votive Mass "pro re gravi et publica simul causa", as given in the Roman Missal under "Additiones et Variationes in Rubricis Missalis", II, 3, and V, 3.

1. *Days on which the three votive Masses are permitted.* The three votive Masses may freely be celebrated on any day in the year, except the following: Sundays of the first class; Feasts double of the first class; Ash Wednesday; Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of Holy Week; the Vigils of Christmas and Pentecost and All Souls' Day. On Holy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday, the Forty Hours' Adoration is not held.

Besides, the two votive Masses of the Blessed Sacrament must not be celebrated on days when office is said or commemoration made of a vigil, feast day, octave day or day within an octave of certain feasts in honor of our Lord, on account of the "identity of mystery". These feasts include Corpus Christi, the Passion, the Cross, the Most Holy Redeemer, the Most Sacred Heart and the Most Precious Blood, as well as any other feast locally granted in honor of a mystery theologically connected with the Blessed Sacrament.

2. *Orations to be said at the votive Masses.*—At the two Masses of the Blessed Sacrament, the oration "Deus qui nobis" is said first and concluded, after which is added the commemoration of the occurring day, if that day is a Sunday, a feast of the second class, Rogation day, a major ferial, a privileged vigil or a privileged octave. No other day or feast is commemorated. At the votive Mass *pro pace*, the orations to be said are, 1. the oration for peace ("Deus a quo sancta"), with its conclusion; 2. the commemoration of any occurring Sunday, feast of the second class, major ferial, Rogation day, privileged vigil or privileged octave; 3. in the last place, the commemoration of the Blessed Sacrament with its conclusion "Qui vivis." However, should the Mass *pro pace* be celebrated on any day on which the rubrics call for a commemoration of one of the above mentioned feasts of our Lord, the oration of the Blessed Sacrament should be omitted, to avoid duplication coming from "identity of mystery".

3. *Gloria and Credo.* The Gloria is always said at the two Masses of the Blessed Sacrament, but omitted at the Mass *pro pace,* as it is never said at Masses celebrated in purple vestments. The Credo is always said at the three Masses, whether they are celebrated on a Sunday or a weekday.

4. *Preface.* At the votive Masses of the Blessed Sacrament, the preface is always that of the Nativity, omitting, of course, the corresponding "Communicantes". At the votive Mass *pro pace,* the preface is also that of the Nativity, unless that Mass is celebrated on a day or in a season which calls for a special preface, in which case that special preface (*de festo* or *de tempore*) must be said instead of the Nativity preface.

5. *Last Gospel.* At the three votive Masses, the last gospel is that of St. John, "In principio", unless commemoration has

been made of a Sunday, a ferial of Lent or Passion time, an Ember day, Rogation Monday, a vigil, the octave day of the Epiphany, or a day within a privileged octave of the first order, in which cases, the gospel of the occurring day is said at the end of the votive Mass instead of St. John's gospel.

6. *What Mass is to be said on days when solemn votive Masses are not permitted?* On days when the rubrics do not permit the celebration of solemn votive Mass, the Mass to be celebrated is that prescribed for the day by the Ordo. At that Mass, the commemoration of the votive Mass which would otherwise be said that day (Blessed Sacrament or *pro pace*) is added to the oration of the day under the same conclusion; and, at the Mass which takes the place of the Mass *pro pace,* the commemoration of the Blessed Sacrament is added after all the other commemorations prescribed by the Ordo. However, the commemoration of the Blessed Sacrament is omitted at any of the Masses in which commemoration is made of any of the mysteries of our Lord connected with the Blessed Sacrament, as explained above. The Gloria is always said, unless the Mass is celebrated in purple vestments, and the Credo is always said, even on weekdays, provided the Mass celebrated be at least of the semi-double rite. On the first or third day, when the Blessed Sacrament is commemorated, the preface to be said is that of the Nativity, unless the Mass of the day requires a special one; and, at the end of Mass, the gospel of the votive Mass of the Blessed Sacrament is said instead of "In principio," unless the rubrics of the day prescribe a special gospel.

7. *Special rules for All Souls' Day.* On All Souls' Day (2 November), none of the three votive Masses is permitted. The only Mass allowed on that day is the Requiem Mass. If All Souls' Day is the first day of the Forty Hours, the solemn exposition of the Blessed Sacrament takes place after the Requiem Mass; if it is the third day, the solemn Mass of Requiem is celebrated after the procession and reposition of the Blessed Sacrament. When the second day of the Forty Hours occurs on All Souls' Day, the solemn Requiem Masses as well as all other Masses are celebrated in purple vestments, observing that no Requiem Mass is allowed at the altar where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed. The Requiem Masses of that day are

to be said exactly as directed in the Missal, without any change or addition of prayers or ceremonies.

8. *Low Masses.* If a diocese has obtained an Apostolic indult to substitute low for high Mass in the celebration of the Forty Hours, the low Mass has the same privileges and follows the same rules as the solemn votive Mass, unless provided otherwise in the indult. In default of such an indult, the low Masses celebrated in connexion with the Forty Hours' Adoration must be said according to the Ordo of the day with the commemoration of the Blessed Sacrament. If the Ordo prescribes for that day one oration, the commemoration of the Blessed Sacrament is added with a separate conclusion; if several orations are prescribed, the commemoration of the Blessed Sacrament is added after the last. That commemoration is omitted however when the Mass is said or commemoration made therein of one of the mysteries or our Lord connected with the Blessed Sacrament, as indicated above. The omission of the commemoration of the Blessed Sacrament on feasts of the first and second class is now abolished. The Gloria, Credo, special preface and distinct last gospel are said or not according to the rubics of the day; if the Ordo does not prescribe them, they are not to be added on account of the Forty Hours.

THE NEW INDULGENCE OF THE ROSARY.

In our issue of December 1927, we published a translation of the Apostolic Brief of our Holy Father, granting a Plenary Indulgence to all of the faithful who recite a third part of the Rosary, that is five decades, before the Blessed Sacrament. The customary clause referring to Confession and Holy Communion as a necessary condition for the gaining of the indulgence was omitted from the translation as it came to us. The suggestion is offered that page 628 of the December issue of the REVIEW be marked by a reference to this omission in order to prevent confusion in the future.

Ecclesiastical Library Table

RECENT BIBLE STUDY.

Since an opinion of Fr. Mallon, S.J., and other Palestinian archeologists, identifying with the Third or Agrippan Wall of Jerusalem certain ancient fortifications recently unearthed, was presented at some length in last October's issue of this REVIEW,[1] it is but just to note that this hypothesis is strongly contested by Fr. Vincent, O.P., one of the foremost living authorities on the historical topography of the Holy City. In a long and scholarly article[2] he presents the available evidence for the correctness of the opinion hitherto prevalent, that the most northern section of the present wall as shown on current maps is approximately identical with the course of Agrippa's foundations, being actually erected upon them wherever feasible. This article is illustrated by original charts and a number of very fine photographs which make the force of the writer's contention as clear as possible. As the discussion is to be continued in future issues, no extended comment upon it is possible at present. The Dominican savant has apparently presented a strong case hitherto, but we still await his explanation of the ancient foundations just brought to light. These are regarded as Herodian not only by Fr. Mallon, himself an acknowledged archeologist, but also by the Revs. Canon Hanauer and Garrow Duncan, of the Palestine Exploration Fund, whose opposition to the prevailing opinion Fr. Vincent records without meeting their positive arguments; in fact, his only attempt as yet to refute the evidence for the newer opinion consists in criticisms of the value of Josephus' figures and of the accuracy of Fr. Mallon's translations of that historian. It will be well, in any event, to await further discovery and discussion before attempting to decide between the two conflicting views.

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Excavations of the last decade in Mesopotamia have added much to the history of ancient Babylonia. Few of the sites recently investigated have aroused a more general interest than the "Tel" or Mound "al-Muqayyar" (otherwise Mughair or

[1] Pages 430-435.

[2] La Troisième Enceinte de Jérusalem, *Revue Biblique*, 36e Année, No. 4; Octobre, 1927, pp. 516-548.

Mugheir). The original city lay at the mouth of the Euphrates as a seaport of the Persian Gulf, whose shore alluvial deposit has since removed more than a hundred miles to the southeast. To biblical students the now accepted identification of Muqayyar with the ruins of "Ur of the Chaldees", from which Abraham began his momentous pilgrimage of faith, lends interest to almost any knowledge of the ancient city; but its independent witness to a much earlier chapter in Babylonian history constitutes its chief present importance.

Closely connected with the work at Muqayyar has been the exploration of Tel al-'Ubaid, four miles to the westward. This operation, now completed, is the subject of a magnificent publication of the Oxford University Press, the joint report of four specialists upon the yield of the new site.[3] The volume is a beautifully printed quarto whose 240 pages of text are accompanied by 68 full-page plates, including two air-views and several plans, besides a color-sketch of the reconstruction of an extremely ancient Sumerian temple. A digest of the outstanding features of this report may be more intelligible if prefaced by a brief survey of the course of modern research in the region involved, and of its general bearing upon ancient history.

About 120 miles above the present head of the Persian Gulf, the lower Euphrates is entered from the north by an ancient canal from the Tigris, now known as the Shatt-el-Hai. Almost opposite the latter's mouth, near the southwest bank of the river, there stood for centuries an extensive mound of buried ruins, whose surface remains were so marked by the use of the native bitumen that the Arabs had named the spot Tel al-Muqayyar, "the Mound of Pitch." In 1849 the British Commission appointed to arbitrate the boundary dispute between Turkey and Persia included in its personnel Mr. (later Sir) William K. Loftus, a geologist, whose interest in the ruined sites of lower Mesopotamia prompted him to collect memoranda on several of those that came to his notice, and later, on the completion of his official duties, to return and begin excavations at Warka (the "Arach" of Gen. x: 10) and

[3] *Ur Excavations.* Volume I: "Al-Ubaid". By H. R. Hall and C. Leonard Woolley, with chapters by C. J. Gadd and Sir Arthur Keith. Oxford University Press, 1927.

Senkereh (ancient Larsa, perhaps the Ellasar which in Gen. xiv: 1 is rendered "Pontus" by the Vulgate). This expedition furnished the British Museum with the first nucleus of its now extensive Babylonian collection. Muqayyar, across the Euphrates from these two sites, had been favorably reported by Loftus as feasible for excavation; and this, in 1853, led Mr. J. E. Taylor, British consul at Basrah, to attempt some independent operations on the site. These were the first undertaken at Ur. Taylor was able not only to discover two courses of the "stage-tower" or *ziggurrat* common to early Babylonian temple sites, but to penetrate into the interior of a massive temple dedicated to the worship of the moon-god Sin. The results of his operations, both here and at the nearby mound of Abu Shahrain (which proves to be the site of the ancient Eridu), were made public in 1855, in so far as their data could be appraised at that early stage of information. But at the time Layard's more spectacular discoveries in Assyria held the attention of England to such a degree that Taylor's unveiling of a far earlier period was not duly appreciated. On the other hand, British excavation in southern Babylonia was suspended after 1854.

About fifteen years later began in this region, and in Elam, east and north of the Persian Gulf, that long series of valuable investigations by French archeologists which were destined to bring the early Sumerians into our historical perspective. These contributions effected so marked an advance in the knowledge of ancient Mesopotamia, its peoples and their languages, as to bring the relative importance of these more southern sites into general recognition. When at length systematic operations were resumed under British auspices, the southern district was also favored by practical considerations. In 1918, though the fortunes of war had transferred Mesopotamia from Turkey to England, the conquest of the northern part was not yet complete. The opportunity in the south, however, was at once embraced by the British Museum, which commissioned Mr. R. Campbell Thompson to resume operations on the two sites of Taylor's earlier labors. He devoted most of his attention to Abu Shahrain, a few miles south of Muqayyar, and there obtained data belonging to a period now classed as "prehistoric" in comparison with any known norm of Baby-

lonian culture. Early in 1919, however, Dr. H. R. Hall, the custodian of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, replaced Thompson, and chose Muqayyar as the center of his operations because of its railway facilities.

The skilled and persistent research of which "Ur of the Chaldees" has accordingly become the scene, is not unknown to the general public. Much has been learned of the worship of the moon-god Sin in this ancient center of his cult. Interested persons distinct from the explorers have of course appealed to such information in favor of the usual evolutionary speculations on the origin of the ancient Hebrew faith, merely because Abraham was at first a citizen of Ur.[4] Thus far, however, the outstanding results obtained from Ur have reference to a period long antedating Abraham's time, and including the early dynasties of the city's independent Sumerian kings. The earliest Babylonian empire, of whose eleven kings the sixth was the great Hammurabi, absorbed Ur and her sister cities of the south about 2050 B. C.;[5] while almost a millennium of her former independence has now surrendered its tale in outline to the persistent labors of British and American excavators.

The reader is doubtless aware that Babylonian chronology prior to the middle of the second millennium B. C. is far from being accurately established. Its scribes, however, were ardent chroniclers of their own early traditions. Quite apart from those inscriptions which record particular achievements of contemporary magnates, there are a number of mere lists of earlier kings, both local and alien to their respective sources, arranged as dynasties with their component individuals, and often with the years of the reign of each recorded. These records, gathered from various sites, are more or less complete according to their authors' purpose and the weight of the touch of time; and it is from these "king-lists", as they are conventionally called, that the framework of ancient Babylonian

[4] This myth of an evolved Hebraism with moon-worship as its starting-point has recently been embodied in a film, apparently of Jewish production, which is endeavoring to make its way into Catholic schools under the guise of "historical education".

[5] So Legrain, *Historical Fragments;* U. of Pa. Museum Babylonian Pub., Vol. XIII, 1922. Clay prefers the date 2225 (*A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*; Yale Univ. Press, 1922); Rogers, 2232 (*History of Babylonia and Assyria,* Vol. I, opp. p. 516; 6th edition, New York; Abingdon Press, 1915).

chronology must be tentatively formed. Depending somewhat on tradition, they naturally agree in some matters and differ in others. Those which aspire to the very beginning of all records are unanimous in regarding "the Flood" as a common point of reckoning, before which there had reigned a dynasty of ten kings, and after which (more or less immediately) follow in succession the First Dynasties respectively of Kish, Uruk and Ur. But the ten antediluvian kings had been credited with reigns enduring (if modern calculation is correct) from 10,800 to 64,800 years apiece; while of Kish I and Uruk I no king had reigned less than 100 years, four 900 and two 1200 each. The fanciful color of such figures naturally cast suspicion on the historical value of everything recorded for the earlier periods; besides which it gradually became evident that dynasties recorded in succession, even for later times, had often been more or less contemporaneous. These defects have always withheld modern historians from attempting to build a chronology upon the king-lists without the independent confirmation of other and more definite data.

Thanks, however, to the patient research of many industrious scholars, the shadowy centuries stretching behind the First Babylonian Empire are slowly emerging into clearer perspective. That empire, as already indicated, began its course when the Akkadian Semites of Babylon had extended their sway over the cities of their own compatriots, and then over the non-Semitic Sumerian cities southward to the Persian Gulf. It is recorded that even before that achievement the city of Ur had known three successive dynasties separated by greater or less intervals of alien rule. Of these Ur III is placed by Legrain at 2304-2187 B. C., and Ur II at 3813-3705. This latter dating Fr. Legrain would possibly be now inclined to reduce. However this may be, Ur II was separated from Ur I by an Awan dynasty of 356 years' duration; while Ur I lasted 171 years according to the king-lists. To this first dynasty of Ur no absolute date is assigned in the tables of Rogers, Clay and Deimel. Legrain places it at 4340-4169 B. C.; but since his publication of this computation the tendency has rapidly advanced towards great reduction in the ages of local dynasties between the Flood and Babylon I. At the same time, greater confidence is now reposed in the names,

number and succession of kings assigned by these ancient lists to each dynasty in itself, since both individuals and their contemporaries are here and there receiving the awaited confirmation.

With this somewhat faulty sketch of the historical background, let us return to the ruins of Muqayyar, the site of ancient Ur. The hitherto completed labors of British and American scholars on this great center sum up a tale for which we must await their full report, reserved for a later issue of the present series. The splendid volume now at hand invites our whole attention to another site, smaller than Muqayyar but rich in important discoveries.

This spot came to the notice of Dr. Hall in the spring of 1919. "While exploring the desert near Ur one Sunday at the beginning of April," he writes, "I discovered a new prehistoric and early Sumerian site, of the same type as Shahrain, about four miles due west of Ur." This was a small mound, about 30 feet high and 150 feet long, locally known as Tel al-'Ubaid ("Mound of the Little Slave"). Even the surface fragments invited a search, for traces of Arab occupation lay mingled with stone implements and bits of the early painted pottery which indicates the "prehistoric" in present terms of southern Mesopotamian annals. Work on the site was at once begun with a competent staff, but could not continue beyond the middle of May, owing to the increasing heat. Within these few weeks, however, Dr. Hall exposed to a considerable depth the outer surface of the retaining-wall of a typical temple-platform of brick, crudely rectangular, about 110 feet long by 75 feet wide, with corners (as usual) towards the points of the compass, and its greater length northwest to southeast. The platform had been reached by two flights of stairs, the main one at about the middle of the southeast side. On this same side traces of a later structure, itself still very ancient, were evident: on a part of the original surface was superimposed a platform of crude brick extending over the top of the older wall, beyond which it rested on a bed of stiff clay. In tracing the course of the older wall beneath this projection, from the east corner towards the stairway, a veritable profusion of ancient Sumerian workmanship was found imbedded in the clay. Among the wreckage of the structure of a small temple

lay many details of its exterior ornamentation: mosaic columns, frieze reliefs of birds and animals, and fully executed statuettes of bulls and lions skilfully covered with copper. The later brickwork above bore the stamp of Dungi (or Shulgi), the second king of Ur III, believed to have reigned B. C. 2456-2398 (Clay) or 2286-2228 (Legrain). Hence the objects of art had adorned an earlier temple. This, with their hitherto unknown design and execution, sufficed to place them in a remote antiquity; but among them lay a still clearer witness in the form of two small statuettes of human figures. One of these, itself only a headless torso, bears an inscription indicating the dedication of the vanished temple to Nin-khursag, the Sumerian goddess of child-birth and patroness of the underworld, whose spouse Ea, the water-god, had his shrine at nearby Eridu (now Shahrain). The form of this inscription was distinctly archaic; it recorded the gift of the statue to the temple by an official named Kur-lil. The other figure, nearly complete, is the seated form of a man of the early Sumerian type already found elsewhere depicted: head shaven, nose and eyes extremely prominent, chin small. "From their style", observes Dr. Hall, "they were evidently of the early Sumerian period, very likely the period of Ur-Ninâ (*c.* 3000 B. C.) or somewhat earlier, to judge from the characters of the inscription of Kur-lil. So that they were no doubt contemporaneous with the building, or not much later than it" (pp. 19-20). This calculation was signally confirmed by a discovery of Dr. Hall's successor.

If space permitted, many interesting details about these antiquities could be reproduced. Dr. Hall's successor pronounces their combined recoveries "a collection of objects of art unrivaled from any early Babylonian source". When the former's brief but efficient campaign ended in May, 1919, he took precautions for the preservation of the site, in the hope of returning in the following season. That hope, he tells us, was "dashed by circumstances not under my control or that of the Museum", and four years passed before the complete witness of 'Ubaid could be evoked, yet its next explorer found it as Dr. Hall had left it.

It is to Mr. C. Leonard Woolley, M. A., that we owe the resumption of the report at Chapter IV. This able director's task began under new auspices.

In 1922 there was formed the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania for the excavation of Ur and its surroundings, and work was carried on under an agreement with the Government of 'Iraq whereby one-half of the antiquities found was to go to the new National Museum in Baghdad and the remaining half to be divided between the two Museums which financed the expedition. . . . It was clearly necessary, from a scientific point of view, that the accounts of the two distinct campaigns should be published together so as to give as complete a picture as possible of the site. . . . During its first season the Joint Expedition was too busy with its work at Ur to attempt any excavations farther afield, and it was only at the end of that season, in March, 1923, that we were able even to visit the site where Dr. Hall had made such important discoveries (p. 55).

Mr. Woolley on inspection concluded that much remained to be done, and decided to await the autumn of 1923. A low, elongated mound nearby to the south and quite distinct from the main site was the first point of attack. It proved to be a cemetery and settlement combined. The dwellings were very ancient, huts of a familiar type constructed of posts and reed-matting; they belonged to a community of small farmers and fishers who had shared with the dead a tiny island in the ancient marshes of the Euphrates. The dead, however, had been in vast majority; the cemetery owned a history of centuries, as shown by the successive epochs revealed in mode of burial and style of accompanying artefacts. Of the sum of its information, more anon, since Mr. Woolley's report here returns to the completion of the temple's excavation on the main site.

Around three sides of the platform the older retaining-wall of burnt brick was now uncovered to its foundations. The southeast side again proved the richest. As Dr. Hall had obtained his choicest antiquities near this face of the wall, but northeast of the stairway mounting its midst, so on the opposite side of this stairway Mr. Woolley uncovered—

. . . just such a hoard of precious objects as had been found by Dr. Hall on the northeast side of it—objects, that is, similar so far as regards their general type and date, but . . . individually different—statues and reliefs of cattle in copper, mosaic friezes in shell and in stone, as well as copper-sheathed columns and columns in mosaic and artificial flowers like those from the earlier excavations. The whole

of the area between the stairs and the south angle of the building was littered with these precious remains hidden below or mixed up with the masses of mud-brick fallen from the wall above (p. 59).

The mud-brick forming debris amongst which these objects occurred, or sections of fallen wall to which they still adhered, was red; the platform surmounting their whole stratum was of grey mud-brick. The latter had been built over the ruins of a first temple to serve as base for a new structure. Of the second building only two fragments of wall are visible, and no movable object belonging to it was found. But more interesting is the fact that the building of Dungi, second king of Ur III, was not a part of this second stratum, but the latest of three constructions. A portion of its northern angle—from one to four courses of burnt-brick foundation—is all that remains of Dungi's building, a temple that covered the south corner of the platform to about one-fourth of its whole area. The stamp of this king of Ur III and the remaining bricks determines the age of the last building—let us say, B. C. 2300 more or less. Most interesting of all, however, is the known origin of that earliest temple of the three, the shrine of Nin-khursag, whose ruins, overlaid by the platform of the second building, have yielded the mass of curious objects already mentioned. For among the latter, and confirming Dr. Hall's estimate of their period, Mr. Woolley discovered the dedication-inscription itself: "Nin-khursag: A-anni-padda king of Ur, son of Mes-anni-padda king of Ur, has built a temple for Nin-khursag." Mes-anni-padda appears in the "king-lists" as the first king of the first dynasty of Ur, of which nothing from other sources had hitherto been known; and owing to the suspicious credit of the earlier stages of these records, and the fact that Ur II also exists for us only in such sources, the existence of both these early dynasties has been treated as doubtful building-material for Babylonian chronology. But the researches of Hall and Woolley have now established the reality of Ur's first dynasty at its very beginning, and "brought into Mesopotamian history a period which heretofore had been generally regarded as mythical". Moreover, while A-anni-padda himself is not named in extant king-lists, his introduction as the son of the first king, Mes-anni-padda, clears up the

further difficulty that the latter's reign had been listed as 80 years in length. This figure may now be divided between father and son, though in what proportion cannot yet be determined. As regards the builder of the first temple, A-anni-padda himself:

> The determination of the absolute, as distinct from the comparative, date of his reign must depend upon the view taken of Babylonian chronology as a whole, a very difficult subject, concerning which no discussion would be here in place. But if, as seems most likely, Ur-Ninâ [an early ruler of Lagash] is to be placed somewhere between 3000 and 2900 B. C., the reign of A-anni-padda would not precede by many years the close of the fourth millennium. It is certain, at least, that recent estimates of a date about, or even before, 4000 B. C. are quite beside the mark. A-anni-padda cannot possibly be earlier than 3100 B. C. at the very earliest, and is probably to be dated somewhat later (p. 140).

To have arrived at this approximate mark from evidence independent of the sum of the king-lists is something of an achievement in any case. Mr. Woolley is justified in remarking that "to have revealed the First Dynasty of Ur as an historical reality is the cardinal interest of the scanty written material from al-'Ubaid" (p. 128). The ruthless destruction of this old Sumerian shrine, indicated by the state in which its beautiful ornaments were found, is not difficult to account for on general grounds at least:

> Its violent destruction, of which we have ample proof, can hardly have taken place during the time of the dynasty which A-anni-padda's father established; it is the work of an enemy who emphasizes his triumph by overthrowing the shrines of the vanquished gods, and on the evidence of the dynastic lists the earliest opportunity for such sacrilege was the subjugation of Ur by the kings of Awan: Mr. Gadd argues (p. 139) that the destruction was in all probability due to Eannatum of Lagash: in either case the temple did not outlive the First Dynasty of Ur (p. 64).

Its artistic remains, then, have lain buried out of human sight since at least 2800 B. C. But what of the two successive buildings that replaced it?

The latest temple was, we know, built by the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur; it remains to fix the date of the intermediate

building. The second temple was planned on a much more ambitious scale than the first, and is therefore not likely to have been the work of any other than a native ruler celebrating the renaissance of his city state; neither a foreign governor nor a private citizen would have attempted to outdo the achievements of the old paramount king. The former, judging from the character of his bricks, lived nearer to the time of Dungi than to that of A-anni-padda, but he was not Ur-Nammu, for the bricks do not suit, and in any case Dungi is not likely to have destroyed his father's work in order to substitute his own; the destruction was again probably due to an enemy. We shall hardly go wrong if we attribute this intermediate building at al-'Ubaid to one of the unknown kings of the Second Dynasty of Ur, and in that case we shall find a possible occasion for its overthrow in Sargon of Akkad's conquest of Ur (pp. 64-65).

Mr. C. J. Gadd, Assistant in Dr. Hall's department of the British Museum, contributes a single chapter (VII) discussing very thoroughly the significance of all the inscriptions found on this site. Preceding and following this are other chapters devoted by Mr. Woolley to most accurate studies of the remaining classes of articles found, especially to the various types of pottery and their position in the scheme of comparative ceramics.

This brings us once more to the cemetery, whose yield of the earliest known type of pottery was abundant. Here one hundred graves were opened under Mr. Woolley's personal direction. They had variously suffered from erosion, plundering, and successive interments during the prolonged use of the spot, so that their movable traces were often in much confusion. The methods of burial employed and other circumstances showed two of the graves uncovered to be prehistoric. The greater number were of a later period, and yet this had preceded the First Dynasty of Ur, and that, it would seem, by centuries:

> By the time the later cemetery of al-'Ubaid came into use, *i. e.* at the beginning of the First Dynasty of Ur, the graves of the people who used painted pottery had so far fallen into oblivion or disrespect that they were ruthlessly destroyed to make way for new interments, and this must imply a very considerable lapse of time in a country usually regardful of its dead (p. 156).

To those graves which yielded the most complete remains of human skeletons a remote age must therefore be ascribed in the opinion of Mr. Woolley, who has not shown himself inclined to inflate his figures. Apparently one could scarcely assign the lifetime of these dead to a period much later than the middle of the fourth millennium. Sir Arthur Keith understands Mr. Woolley to attribute them rather to its beginning, though this is not evident from the latter's statements as here published. It is Sir Arthur himself who devotes Chapter X to the testimony of the human remains, and of this we must attempt a summary.

> The remains from al-'Ubaid represent 17 individuals, 9 of them adult males, 6 adult females, a youth aged about 18, and a child aged about 7 years. Five of the male skulls are approximately complete, two lack large parts of the base and face, two are mere fragments; three of the women's skulls are sufficiently preserved for yielding all measurements; three are incomplete.

These Sumerian skulls of the fourth millennium are, of course, of a high anthropological type, and though "prehistoric" in terms of Mesopotamia are physiologically quite modern. Eight male and four female skulls are subjected by the writer of this chapter to a most thorough and accurate examination, even incomplete parts contributing to the tabled results at least those measurements obtainable from them; five male and three female skulls yield all the desired measurements for length, width and height. A composite sketch from the five complete male skulls gives a notion of the mean profile. The average shows a type of skull rather dolichocephalic (elongated) than brachycephalic (widened), and a facial length about that of the modern English type; the nose is long and prominent, but less broad and fleshy at the base than in the Semitic type.

With these 'Ubaid skulls Sir Arthur Keith compares similar measurements obtained from two other sources. One of these lies near at hand. Three male and three female skulls brought by Mr. Woolley from the tomb-mound of Ur itself and assigned by him to a period between 1900 and 1700 B. C., reveal a type of cranium still more elongated than that of 'Ubaid, and yet actually a little narrower. These are of a period more than

fifteen centuries later than that of the first group; the respective places of burial are only four miles apart. From the difference in average measurements, Sir Arthur concludes:

> There is evidence that new blood had entered southern Mesopotamia between the dates of the earlier and later burials, but the incomers were of a race closely allied with the older inhabitants (p. 214).

Finally some attention is given to human remains found in 1924 by the Oxford and Field Museum Expedition on the site of Kish, 150 miles northwest of Ur. This city was sometimes in Akkadian hands, but the early human remains in question are regarded by Langdon[6] as Sumerian. Of these Sir Arthur writes that "from Dr. Buxton's account and from my own examination of these skulls I am convinced that the ancient inhabitants of Ur and of Kish were of the same racial composition" (p. 214). They "represent inhabitants of Mesopotamia who lived . . . at a date rather earlier than the second group of people", represented by the Ur remains of 1900-1700. Langdon, however, seems to place the human remains from Kish "in early Sumerian times", which would be nearer to the age of the 'Ubaid group than to that of the skulls from Ur.

Contrasting, at any rate, 'Ubaid of about 3500 B. C. with Ur of about 1800, and remembering that they are practically one and the same community,—

> There is evidence . . . that there had been a considerable change in the composition of the people of Babylonia between the beginning of the fourth millennium B C. and the beginning of the second millennium. . . . The most likely explanation of this change is the invasion of Babylonia by a people with long, narrow and high heads which [*sic*] were in an evolutionary sense related to, but more primitive than the first Sumerian inhabitants of Mesopotamia. The homeland of such a race of invaders is more likely to have been the Arabian peninsula than any other land (pp. 225-6).

The last observation favors a popular theory with which the writer elsewhere shows himself to be acquainted, and in any freer field of application it might be welcomed, though just here it is rather disturbing to accepted conclusions. That the

[6] Recent Excavations in Mesopotamia, *Expository Times*, November, 1926, p. 76.

Semitic element in Mesopotamia, whatever its source, had by about 2000 B. C. generally triumphed over the Sumerian civilization is regarded as matter of established history. But the northern Akkadians appear as the conquering invaders. An Arabian "migration-wave" seems unnecessary here, if not decidedly inconvenient. Possibly we need more light on the origin of the Akkadians themselves, and a much more thorough knowledge of their racial characters, before determining the source of that influx which Sir Arthur Keith believes to have modified the physique of Ur's inhabitants before 1800 B. C. Be this as it may, his verdict on the more ancient group from 'Ubaid is somewhat unexpected:

> As to the racial nature of the al-'Ubaid people, there can be no doubt; if they were living to-day we should call them Arabs (p. 240).

Have we, then, been at fault in considering the ancient Sumerians a non-Semitic people, or in regarding the Arabs as typical Semites? Or did these Sumerians of the fourth millennium appeal to a parent stock uniting the characters of two types, Akkadian and Sumerian, clearly distinct only a thousand years later? For distinct they were at that time, if the joint testimony of portraiture and language can decide; and yet we read again:

> It is true, as Dr. Buxton has pointed out, that a considerable diversity of head-form is found amongst these ancient Sumerians, but that diversity is not more than is met with in races of mankind considered to be pure. On the evidence now before me I have come to the conclusion that in ancient times the whole of Mesopotamia was inhabited by a people of the same physical type and of the same racial origin (p. 214).

We shall find, when we proceed to describe the racial features of the ancient people of Ur, that they share in the characteristics of both types; they are both Iranian and Semitic. It is usual to explain the existence of such intermediate types as being the result of hybridization, brought about by peaceful penetration or as a result of warlike measures. No doubt intermarriage and hybridization do take place across racial frontiers, but we cannot in this way explain the evolution of the original Iranian and Semitic stocks. Both have clearly arisen, at some remote period, from a common ancestry, and we ought therefore to find between the centers or cradles of their evolution an intermediate or transitional type. The Mesopotamian peoples, both

past and present, represent a transition between Iranian and Semitic types, but they have retained more of the Iranian than of the Semite (p. 216).

To the uninitiated mind some of these conclusions seem far too extensive to be warranted by the average of twelve specimens as contrasted with that of six others. Certainly the distinguished anatomist's figures seem to reveal some modification of type within fifteen centuries' occupation of one limited locality. But the political history of that locality points to conquest and intermarriage as the normal explanation, unless fuller light yet to be shed on the Akkadian craniology should exclude that source of the modification actually observed in the Babylonian period of Ur. And how important, after all, is the contrast between the type of earlier 'Ubaid and that of later Ur, when the whole discussion may be concluded with this passage:

> There is evidence, too, that between the fourth and second millennia there was a change in the cranial features of the people of Ur. Yet the new arrivals were people of the same physical stock as the older inhabitants with whom they became mixed; the invader must have been a cousin people—one with smaller and narrower heads. Certainly, as physical anthropologists measure people, the later people of Ur were not the equals of the earlier people found at al-'Ubaid.

It is at least gratifying to learn in these materialistic days that physical predominance is no proof of superiority. Moreover, whatever be the general value of Sir Arthur Keith's conclusions, his excellent tables stand as a permanent source of reference for future comparison and a monument to conscientious research of a really scientific kind. Apart from this feature, however, his chapter in the al-'Ubaid Report oppresses the reader with an atmosphere of semi-speculation very different from the impression of careful reasoning and sound judgment conveyed by the Report as a whole.

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Criticisms and Notes

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN ENGLAND, First Bishop of Charleston (1786-1842). By Peter Guilday, Ph.D., Professor of Church History, Catholic University of America, 2 volumes. America Press: New York. 1927.

Bishop England's twenty-two years in the see of Charleston (1820 to 1842) were years that made history. Facts of earlier organization and ecclesiastical polity were taking shape. New conditions and new environments of social and civil life were calling for new adjustment. Old problems in the administration of Church temporalities must be worked over again for new solutions. Men schooled in the time-honored customs and the Canon Law of the Old World found themselves facing facts in the concrete which had no exact counterpart in the State establishments or the patrons and privileges of favored classes in Europe.

Lay corporations had been empowered by the several States to find and control funds for the support of religion. Then followed Trustee troubles—"Governing Boards" defying the authority of the Apostolic hierarchy, the scandal of wrangling partisans, divided congregations with untold losses to religion and the Faith. Ecclesiastical adventurers and clerical free lances from Europe were another source of vexation that tried episcopal authority and prudence and proved the hearts of men. The perils from without came from distrust, hate and intolerance. Transplanted from Europe, religious bigotry had developed new varieties of anti-Catholic and absurd prejudice—a perennial growth of ugly weeds, which, while it merits no attention, may not be neglected.

There was work here to be done, work that makes up the life story of our pioneer bishops of the time, work for the press, the publicity bureau, the lecture platform. When Bishop England came to America these agencies for right thinking were still to be created. Then too the demand for an explanation of some Catholic truth or practice, the correcting of an error or a falsehood, the presenting of a right view of facts and faith in history usually meant a call upon the personal resources and energy of the Bishop.

With these facts in the foreground we do not look for the finer points in the study of character. Personal qualities which we like to admire at leisure are not quite in harmony with the hard work of "The Life and Times of John England". The times were strenuous. The labor of administration, the care of planning and organizing made constant and imperative demands upon energies, tact and genius. The finer gifts are there, the mental attitudes and habits of

thought that prove and reveal character, but our attention is fixed on the man of action who finds a way or makes a way to solve the problems of his time.

The documental material makes a splendid background where the student will find it easy now to trace the policy of our first bishops during the period of formation. This is the great merit of Doctor Guilday's work. He has placed within easy reach facts which hitherto were hidden away in sources little known and seldom consulted. He has gathered from archives in Rome, Ireland and America much new material and fitted it into the life story of a great bishop, a leader in religion and in civil life. The new facts stand for much more than biographical interest. They give us the advantage of new views and new phases of the old controversies which threatened to divide the American episcopate on lines of European nationalism.

The chapter on the "Constitution of the Diocese of Charleston" has a very special interest for the student of the "Trustee" troubles in the Church of the United States. The democratic idealism of Bishop England was practical enough to find a way out of difficulties of fact and of law which elsewhere seemed insurmountable. Bishop England had the strength of character, the will and the perseverance to make a theory work; which in other sees, and under other leadership, in Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Boston, Detroit and New Orleans proved to be a source of unending trouble, scandal, rebellion, with unknown losses to spiritual life and the Faith.

The metropolitan and bishops of the French party could not bring themselves to trust the idealism of the "Constitution". Perhaps there was something in the name that suggested the "Constitution of the Clergy" in France. Perhaps the extremes of French republicanism were feared in schemes of democratic control for the material support of religion. At any rate the "Constitution" found little favor outside the diocese of Charleston and the immediate circle of Bishop England's friends. It seems to have been the impression generally accepted that a strong man could control governing boards of laymen so long as a strong man could be found to keep the upper hand: but what assurance was there for a succession of strong men in the see of Charleston or any other see of the United States?

The Council of Baltimore in 1829 made a clear exception in favor of the diocese of Charleston when it drew up its decrees against the assumed rights of lay trustees. The plan for lay representation in local church government was left intact: "We do not desire to interfere with the method which the Bishop of Charleston now follows in his diocese." The plan however evidently depended upon the man for successful operation during his lifetime. After the death of the

Bishop, in 1842, the annual "Conventions" or synods of lay counsellors ceased to function, and the "Constitution" now is past history.

One other practical ideal of Bishop England was realized in the publication of the *Catholic Miscellany* begun in June 1822. With the exception of one year's interruption (1823), this journal continued its work of defending Catholic interests and explaining Catholic thought and discipline until the time of the Civil War in 1861. The five volumes of the "Works of Bishop England" published by his successor, Bishop Ignatius Reynolds, in 1849 and issued again in the new edition of Archbishop Messmer in 1910, are in the main reprinted from original expositions of faith and things Catholic in the *Miscellany* during the years of Bishop England's active life. The work of Doctor Guilday enables us to see at leisure and to study the local and general history of those interesting decades. The problems, the difficulties, the prejudices, the intellectual resources, the whole environment of Catholic prelates and people live again in *The Life and Times of John England.*

GRUNDRISS DER GESCHICHTE DER PHILOSOPHIE (Friedrich Ueberweg). Theil II. Die Patristische und Scholastische Philosophie. Eilfte neubearbeitete Ausgabe; mit einem Philosophen und Literatoren-Register versehen. Herausgegeben von Dr. Bernhard Geyer, Prof. an d. Universitaet Bonn. Berlin: Mittler und Sohn. 1928. Pp. xviii + 828.

Friedrich Ueberweg, who for nine years held the professorship of philosophy at the University of Koenigsberg, where a century and a quarter earlier Emmanuel Kant had taught, was nevertheless a pronounced opponent of the celebrated *Critique of Pure Reason.* His peculiar school of thought maintained the Aristotelian principle, despite the fact that it sought to embody the idealism of Schleiermacher and the earlier mystics; whence he produced the so-called *Ideal-realismus* which separates him from a purely rationalistic tendency in metaphysics and ethics.

The student who adheres to the Scholastic system of philosophy outlined in the Augustinian, Franciscan and Dominican schools led by Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure, and St. Thomas, will be disposed to turn aside from the conclusions of Ueberweg and his immediate disciples, Reicke and Heinze, who continued the work of their master during the last half-century. Nevertheless that work demands our serious attention by reason of its originality, and a certain thoroughness of treatment in presenting a comprehensive survey of ancient and modern philosophic thought.

After a brief account of the fundamental principles marking the Platonic and Aristotelian teaching Ueberweg passes in review the successive stages of development ushered in with the coming of Christianity. Then follow various phases of the patristic, medieval and renascence periods down to the present. The study is thus neither confined to Christian and Catholic literature, nor does it maintain in its successive editions that exclusiveness which its first concept seemed to foreshadow. The first edition had appeared in three volumes between the years 1862 and 1866. Since then the work has been enlarged to five volumes in its twelfth edition. These five parts deal separately with different periods and were issued as opportunity seemed to call for them under different editorship. Hence the persistent student will miss something of the consistency which simultaneous collaboration in the reëditing might lead him to expect. But the independent efforts at reconstruction have their advantage for which the unprejudiced student is likely to be grateful. The accidental disparity of viewpoint regarding the merits of Christian and Scholastic philosophy thus happens to give special value to the treatise dealt with by Dr. Geyer in the second volume of the series here under review. The Bonn professor not only enlarges but completely revises the earlier issue of the same volume by Dr. Matthias Baumgartner of Breslau, and brings it nearer in its sympathetic criticism to the true Scholastic concept.

We may here recall the publication of the excellent *History of Philosophy* by Dr. William Turner, the present Bishop of Buffalo, and one time professor of this subject at the diocesan Seminary of St. Paul, Minn., at the time when Baumgartner was about to publish his version of the patristic and Scholastic activity in the field of philosophy. The thoroughness and completeness of Dr. Turner's history were pointed out by us at the time in these pages. Its chief merit lay however in the manner in which the author traced the genetic connexions between various systems, schools and doctrines in the process of general evolution of philosophic thought. Shortly after this Maurice de Wulf of Louvain published his *History of Medieval Philosophy* in French. Although Dr. Turner's volume was at once translated into Italian, and gave the author occasion to discuss later on the relation of Aristotle to medieval Christianity, it was impossible to foresee at the time all the documentary evidences pouring fresh light on the subject from the archives of hitherto closed sources in the great libraries of the Universities of Rome, Paris, Cologne, and other centres of medieval philosophic studies. Cardinal Franz Ehrle, S.J., in his capacity as librarian of the Vatican, P. Heinrich Denifle, the Dominican, employed by the French government, despite his German nationality, to write the

story of the ancient schools of Paris and Bologna, Liège, Tours, Chartres and their offshoots from the tenth century to the fourteenth; then Clemens Baeumker and the two Baumgartners, with others equally skilled in research work, gave a new impulse and direction to the study of medieval thought in theology and mysticism. These studies caused additions and recasting in the accounts by writers like De Wulf, in which St. Thomas forms the central attraction.

It is in the utilizing of these accessions to our knowledge of the scope and nature of patristic and Scholastic studies that Dr. Bernhard Geyer's chief merit as the most recent historian of the philisophy of Christianity lies. Starting with the background offered by the instinctive recognition of eternal truths on the part of the Oriental and Greek philosophers, the author draws a clear picture of the changed condition of thought and morality brought about by the teachings of Christ's Gospel. The Messianic revelation established what has been styled a distinctly dogmatic basis for the search after eternal truth and a higher standard of moral and spiritual living. Both St. Paul and St. John the Evangelist make it clear that the fact of Christ in His twofold nature of God and man creates a new concept of philosophic thought barely suspected by the wisest thinkers of antiquity and dogmatically foreshadowed only in a vague way by the prophets of the Old Law. To have this fact emphasized, as Dr. Geyer stresses it in his survey of the early centuries, after Christ, beginning with the apologists Aristides and Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilos of Antioch, with the added testimony of the great Roman or Latin writers, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Arnobius and Lactantius the Christian Cicero, is the outstanding characteristic of the volume before us.

Upon this fact of Christianity the author builds up his examination of the successive achievements of the Alexandrine school of catechetics, and the intellectual defence of the Catholic faith by the chief representatives among the Greek and Latin Fathers between the third and the eighth century. Boethius, Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, and the Venerable Bede are the sign-posts with which the era closes, leading us into the wider field of medieval scholarship whence has sprung a new appreciation among leading scholars in every nation of Catholic Christianity, manifested in many departments of modern intellectual culture. Hence we have to thank Dr. Geyer for his singularly thorough contribution to historic fact illustrating the pathways that lead the aspirant toward the discovery of truth through intellectual appreciation to a high level of moral action.

No less valuable than the thoroughness with which our author analyzes and groups his facts, is the addition of a reference list covering nearly two-hundred pages to guide the student in the veri-

fication of details of his subject. This index is not simply a perfunctory enumeration of works in different languages dealing with Patristic and Scholastic philosophy, but an analysis of the various categories to which these works belong. Besides this record at once historic and analytic, there is a an alphabetical "Namenregister" to help the reader to locate the different authors in every department of the topics discussed. It is plain therefore that, while the work was not intended to exploit Catholic scholarship, nor exclusively to appeal to the student of Scholastic science as set forth in the traditions of the Church, it will prove a decided aid in solving the great problems of thought and the numerous riddles that confront the earnest searcher after religious truth.

SYNOPSE DES QUATRE EVANGILES EN FRANCAIS D'APRES LA SYNOPSE GRECQUE DU R. P. M. J. LAGRANGE, O.P.; par le R. P. C. Lavergne, O. P. Libraire Lecoffre: J. Gabalda, Paris. 1927. Pp. 267.

The synoptic problem involves a study of the Greek text of the Gospels with a view to explain the differences regarding the facts and doctrines therein stated as divinely inspired. One of these differences is that which places the events in varying historical order. There is good reason, as Père Lagrange has pointed out in his *Synopsis Evangelica*, to give to St. Luke the preference as following the actual historical narrative in the order of events succeeding each other in the life of Christ and portrayed by the evangelists. This order is supported by the presentation of St. Mark. Hence, while tradition places St. Matthew at the head of the four evangelists by reason of his special appeal to the Jewish converts and the probable fact that he wrote before the others, the historical order would be in favor of placing St. Luke and St. Mark ahead of St. Matthew as interpreters of the life and teaching of the Divine Master. St. John does indeed precede the three historians of the life of Christ in what appears the more exact chronological and historical succession of events, just as he was the first, with St. Andrew, to follow our Lord; but his account deals rather with the theology than with the history of the Gospel and hence he stands apart from the synoptics.

Fr. Lavergne adds to his translation, which has the approval of Père Lagrange, certain notes culled from the recognized commentaries of the Christian Fathers, which gives to the work the approbation required by the Council of Trent.

Since the chief purpose of the translator is to elicit practical devotion from his critical inquiry, he deems it apposite to cite the

remarkable example of St. Teresa of Lisieux, whose chief study, as she confesses, in her aim at perfection, lay in her appreciation and habitual study of the Gospels. Of these she writes: "There is a subtle perfume that breathes forth from the Gospels picturing the life of Christ which directs my steps in the way I have to walk. . . . From it I glean during prayer and meditation all that is needful to guide my poor little soul. It brings to my mind continually fresh revelations and lights which clear up for me the mysteries and hidden things of God. I find nothing of real use in any book which is not known to me more clearly from the devout reading of the Gospel." Yet St. Teresa did not look upon the Gospels as merely incentives to devotion. Toward the end of her short life she had acquired the habit of copying out the concordant passages in a way which showed that she paid close attention to differences in the text, to the solution of which a knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew originals would have been a help.

In the volume under review the reader follows the life of Christ in chronological order, which gives a pragmatic touch and form to Christian doctrine as set forth during our Lord's public work and preaching. The abundant notes take account of critical difficulties, while an analytical table and a copious topical index permit the easy following, month by month, of the separate incidents in our Lord's public life, that have become the basis of doctrinal and spiritual or ascetical elements in Christian conduct.

A CHARACTER SKETCH OF THE VENERABLE DOM BOSCO. By J. B. Lemoyne, S.C., with Preface by the Most Reverend Edward J. Hanna. Salesian Press: New Rochelle, New York. Price $2.00. Pp. xxiii + 304.

Dom Bosco knew from his earliest years the discipline of labor and of poverty. Yet while he worked upon the farm, he sought every opportunity to attend school. His life holds all the fascination of a stirring novel. On a farm near Murialdo, Italy, he was born in 1815. Although he had to labor at a very early age, he attended a school six miles from his home. Among his companions he showed the influence and power of a religious leader and organizer. He made himself expert in many manual trades: he advanced rapidly in higher studies. Nothing human was foreign to his young soul and the welfare of others engaged his sympathy and his zeal. At nineteen he began his six years of seminary study for the priesthood. His exceptional and devoted love for our Lord would not be held by tradition. He received Holy Communion almost every day. He organized a group of fellow-seminarians who followed his example.

To fit himself better for his work as a priest, he pursued higher studies for three years at the College of St. Francis of Assisi in Turin. Even through these years he labored actively among the boys and young men of the city, meeting them on the street, calling them together into impromptu groups, visiting them in prisons and hospitals. Whom he could, he gathered on feast days in church or oratory.

In 1846, Dom Bosco opened the oratory of St. Francis de Sales—the cradle of the Salesian Community. There he established day and night classes of instruction. He next sheltered many of the more unfortunate boys in a rented house. He used for their technical training workshops throughout the city. Later he opened workshops in his own sheltering homes. He himself was a skilled farmer, carpenter, tailor, shoemaker, and pastry cook. He labored almost alone: against great obstacles and in the face of bitter, unfounded criticisms that now sound incredible. In 1859 he founded the Pious Salesian Society—known as the Salesian Fathers—which has since extended its labors throughout the world. Later he reorganized the Daughters of Mary Help of Christians. From his homes for boys went forth many to study for the priesthood. In 1883 he said, "I have had statistics carefully drawn up and it has been found that more than two thousand priests have come out of our homes and gone to work in the dioceses." Five hundred more were to his credit before he died.

A reading of this short but full character sketch of Dom Bosco will bring home to the reader not only the incredible labors of this modern saint (Leo XIII testified that they were more than human), but his extraordinary apostolic gifts. He had the art of drawing souls by the chords of Adam. Where others failed with boys that we know as toughs and hoodlums, Dom Bosco succeeded. While he made all things pay tribute to God, he had the sense of holy integrity. He neglected not the body while he pleaded for the soul. He made the boy a capable mechanic while he instructed him to be a saint.

Pedagogy can take from him many a lesson. His educational system, which seemed to spring from the gift of understanding bestowed upon him by the Holy Spirit, called for expression, not repression. Love would win, where fear would drive away. "The heart of the child easily withdraws from what troubles it, and thus the love for God diminishes, and subjection and diffidence take the place of filial confidence."

His home was among the poor: he was at ease with kings. Inspired with zeal for the faith, he drew non-Catholics into the fold. Every so-called modern agency he employed for the glory of the

Church and the salvation of souls: the lecture-platform, the press, the training of teachers, vocational education, circulating libraries, recreational centers, effective pedagogical methods.

Dom Bosco excluded nothing and his great soul took care never to allow itself to be cramped. All that he did and achieved was born of his brave Catholic faith and its unselfish, personal love of our Lord Jesus Christ. In Christ, Dom Bosco himself lived and thought and worked. Therefore he showed forth a wondrous kindness and love that consumed him, body and soul. His life was a great supernatural sincerity. The priest of to-day will find guidance and inspiration therefrom.

PAPAUTE ET POUVOIR CIVIL A L'EPOQUE DE GREGOIRE VII: Contribution à l'Histoire du Droit Public. By Elie Voosen. Gembloux, J. Duculot, Editeur. 1927. Pp. xii + 329.

The appearance of a new book on Gregory VII always raises the question whether it is possible to say anything about him or his pontificate that has not been said before. The present author, well aware of this difficulty, undertook his task not so much in the spirit of offering new evidence or expressing new views on the subject, as in the hope of submitting the controversies which Hildebrand had with the civil powers to a fresh examination both on the side of theory as well as on that of fact. His complaint with his predecessors in the field is that their methods are at fault, and that some of them, while paying due attention to the speculative side, such as Gierke and Carlyle, overlook entirely the pertinent historical facts, and others, for instance Mirbt and Hauck, make no effort to analyze the principles underlying the struggles between the Popes and the Empire which they described at such length. The combination of the analytic and the historical methods which Voosen attempts has not, as he admits, led him to adopt any revolutionary conclusions, though he has been able to confirm many opinions, to shade some and to modify others.

As expressed in this work the essence of the controversy between Church and State in the time of Gregory was to be found in the struggle to determine whether princes or civil rulers had any right to intervene in the appointment of bishops or the election of Popes, and whether on the other hand the Pope had any right to depose rulers. The work, which was written as a Dissertation for the Degree of Master of Theology at Louvain, is planned on a very broad scale. It is divided into four sections, dealing respectively with the history of the relations of Church and State prior to the time of Hildebrand; Papal authority; Civil Power; and the Relations

of the Papacy to the Civil Powers. This division, however, gives a very inadequate idea of the contents of the book or the method followed by the author. There were many phases to the controversy, juridical, canonical, political, and religious. The principal of these are selected for discussion, and the leading controversialists on both sides are introduced to state their case, the author occupying the chair of arbitrator between them and explaining their competence and giving a critical summary of their books and writings. In this fashion we are treated to discussions on Papal Elections, the Extent of Pontifical Power, the Divine Origin of Civil Authority, The Mode of Transmission of Civil Authority, Extent of State Authority, the Distinction between Papal and Civil Power, the Doctrine of the Gregorians on the Preëminence of the Power of the Church over the State and the Subordination of the Civil Power, Gregory's teaching on the Right of the Pope to excommunicate and depose Princes, anti-Gregorians on the Independence of the Civil Power, the Powers of the Pope in Temporal Matters, Doctrines of the Opposing Parties.

The author was eminently justified in insisting on the necessity of linking the speculative discussion of the questions at issue with the historical events out of which they grew, but the introductory section, containing a survey of the history of the relations of Church and State prior to the time of Hildebrand, suffers considerably because of its brevity. Unquestionably the controversy in the time of Hildebrand had its roots far back in history, and both sides could with justice appeal to tradition and precedent; but there are some matters which should have been developed more fully in order to bring out the significance of the crisis under Hildebrand. The basis of the Carolingian claim to intervene in papal elections, might, for instance, have been elucidated a little more fully, and even though Otto I did base his right to control ecclesiastical appointments and elections on the precedent afforded by Charlemagne, the temper and policy of the two men were so entirely different as to call for different treatment. It is true there is an unbroken sequence of events in the history of the relations of Church and State, but the particular events which culminated in the conflict which filled the reign of Hildebrand had their origin primarily, not in the desire of the ecclesiastical or the civil authorities to settle this long-standing cause of controversy, but in the determination of certain earnest-minded ecclesiastical leaders to put an end to evils in the Church which were robbing religion of all vitality. These evils were simony and clerical incontinence. All efforts to put into effect against these crimes the canonical regulations and especially the decrees of the Lenten Synods failed because of the apathy or the opposition of the princes and the nobles. In this fashion the conviction was forced home on the minds

of the Pope and his advisers that it was futile to hope for the removal of evils as long as the fruitful source out of which they grew—civil domination in ecclesiastical matters—remained untouched. The struggle was at the same time an earnest effort at reform in the Church and an attempt to assert the independence of the Church as regards state control in matters affecting the spiritual life of Christians. The Popes could not refuse a challenge which, if it became effective, would have reduced the papal office to the level of a minor diocese in Saxony or Wessex. The war which followed was a war of pens not swords. In the heat of conflict both sides undoubtedly made exaggerated assertions and claims; hence the necessity of checking what was said by what was done. The author has made a sincere effort to deal with this side of the matter, but his treatment is not exhaustive.

The question as to where the reform movement originated is discussed at considerable length. There were naturally many protests in many parts of the Church against a system of Caesaro-papism which was destroying ecclesiastical morality and discipline, and it is difficult to determine the source of the movement which subsequently came under the direction of the man who made it successful, Hildebrand. The present author inclines to believe that Hildebrand derived his plans and inspiration form Wazo of Liège, but his proofs are inconclusive.

The author must be commended for having remained within the limits that he set himself. He has examined afresh the evidence bearing on one of most important and significant conflicts in the history of the Church, a conflict associated with the name of the man whom many consider the greatest of the Popes, and his results are largely negative. But though the results are negative the study is not fruitless, and this examination of the juridical phases of the Hildebrandine controversy is in many ways a distinct improvement over anything that has preceded it. The work is not exhaustive, but it will make easier the task of those who desire to evaluate at its full measure the life of Gregory VII.

STUDI DEDICATI ALLA MEMORIA DI PIER PAOLO ZANZUCCHI. RACCOLTA DI SCRITTI IN ONORE DI FELICE RAMORINO. Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero": Milano.

Here we have two works which, though written mainly in Italian, are of international interest. The best review of them perhaps would be a reproduction of their tables of contents. The first is a volume of 520 pages, a collection of legal essays dealing with Roman Law, History of Law, Public and Private Law, Penal Law, Medical

Jurisprudence, Economics, Statistics. There comprise nineteen monographs covering nearly the entire legal field and treating of juridical matters in a light always interesting to a lover of such studies, no matter what legal system he is concerned with, whether Anglo-American or European. It is not necessary to say that the questions are discussed in the light of the most recent literature: a difficult work that could be intrusted only to writers of recognized ability: a work that means a real contribution to the science. The volume is dedicated to the memory of the late Professor P. P. Zanzucchi, the founder of the Faculty of Jurisprudence at the Catholic University of Milan, a prominent jurist, who died while yet young. The work is a production of the above mentioned Faculty.

The *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Felice Ramorino*, has a more international appeal. The volume of 707 pages was published to honor the illustrious Professor Ramorino, Dean of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy at the Catholic University of Milan, at the time of his retirement from the professional chair. This work is of a literary character consonant with the specialty of Dr. Ramorino, who during his forty years of university teaching published no less than forty valuable works.

It is a collection of studies on Greek and Latin classical literature, and presents a large number of diverse topics written in different languages, English, French, German, Italian, Latin. The variety of languages is due to the variety of nations which contributed to the work: 14 countries and 34 universities are represented. Among the latter we may mention the Universities of Utrecht (Holland), Breslau (Germany), Neuhatel (Switzerland), Aberdeen (Scotland), Leningrad (Russia), Paris (France), Innsbruck and Vienna (Austria), Warsaw (Poland), Johns Hopkins and Chicago, as well as several Italian Universities, and others.

There are in all 50 essays dealing with the History of Classical Literature, Study of Meters, Criticism and Interpretation, Philology, Christian Literature, Language. The list by itself will make a strong appeal to the student of the classics.

Both these recent publications have been brought out by the Catholic University of Milan, and they conform to the type of modern "Mélanges", so much used in Europe to honor great scholars: and they represent indeed the best kind of academic commemoration, for they constitute a real scientific production.

The two volumes are a noteworthy addition to the growing list of the "Publicazioni della Università Cattolica di Milano", that splendid collection of writings fostered by the Professors of the Catholic University of Milan.

This series of 50 volumes (150 treatises, many of them of considerable length) dealing with philosophy, law, social sciences, philology, history, biology, religious sciences, statistics, speaks well for the work done by the Catholic University of Milan during its first five years of its existence. Such work, after all, represents the real production of a university.

Literary Chat

Every priest is profoundly interested not only in doing his narrower duty within the confines of his parish but also in larger aspects of the welfare of the Church. In a time like the present when so much in modern thought and life operates in the direction of undermining the integrity of faith, the concept of supernatural life and the maintenance of authority on the moral law in life, the effective presentation of Catholic truth and a spiritual outlook make it necessary for us to acquaint ourselves with the drift of things as it reacts upon Catholic belief. It is not wise to confine efforts in Catholic instruction to isolated views of doctrine and of the principles of Catholic morality. We must understand current thought and adjust our practical apologetics to its effect upon the minds of the Catholic people, particularly the young. Our whole educational system from the primary school up to graduate work in our universities and the seminary represents systematic effort to safeguard faith and morality in conditions that threaten both. On this account the work of the Catholic Educational Association takes a place of singular eminence in the composite of Catholic life. The Report of the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Association which has just appeared, adds another volume to our educational literature. Even a cursory reading of the papers and discussion will impress a reader profoundly.

The annual meeting of the Association brings together hundreds of Catholic educators who represent the experience, aims and resources of the Church in the work of Catholic education. In touch as they are with the general educational movement in the United States, they serve well in sifting out all that is wholesome in modern pedagogy. Trained as they are in Catholic philosophy and tradition, they give to Catholic education a dignity and force which commend it to all thoughtful observers who are sincerely interested in maintaining the standards of Christian life.

The Report which is the occasion for these remarks gives abundant proof of solicitude in the training of Catholic teachers, in the standardizing of all of our educational work and in the gradual improvement of methods of teaching as experience approves them. Quite in contrast with the conflicting philosophies and arbitrary aims that characterize modern educational work we find the Catholic Educational Association insisting upon spiritual values, the impersonal authority of the moral law, the moral responsibility of the individual for the conduct of his life and the spiritual quality of all life. Nor are the wider cultural aspects of education by any means overlooked. It is refreshing to find, for instance, a paper on Health Education and the Parish School which sets forth the newer view of school responsibility for the health of children when, as is so often the case, it is not properly safeguarded in their homes.

The section of the Report devoted to the seminary department shows increasing attention to improved methods of teaching religion, to pedagogy and to newer standards in social work as these concern the priest, and to the personal health of seminarians. Com-

plaint is made that the seminaries have much to do and insufficient time in which to do it. But the frankness with which difficulties are faced and the determination to prepare the priest of to-morrow for the work which awaits him gives promise of satisfactory adjustment.

This general reference to a broad view of Catholic education as a whole brings to mind the splendid work of the Department of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and of the *Catholic Educational Review* published at the Catholic University. Keeping in mind these three agencies of direction and inspiration in the field of Catholic education, we may look to the future with every assurance of satisfactory progress. But in order that that assurance may be complete and that those who give it by their unselfish labors may be strengthened for their task, the American priesthood as a whole must show an alert sympathy and genuine interest in Catholic education. Every priest should be familiar with the literature that serves its interests. The cost of it is but nominal. Indifference to that literature, therefore, would seem to indicate indifference to the work as a whole. The hope of the future is in the Catholic school.

We have been familiar for many years with the Paulist work in missions to non-Catholics. They undertake to win the attention of honest inquirers, to give them information concerning Catholic belief and practice and to answer their inquiries with courtesy and good will. It would be difficult to estimate the work that has been accomplished in this way. The work of the Catholic Evidence Guilds of England has been similar in its general purpose. It is different, however, in that it undertakes to prepare lay speakers who will carry the message of the Church out to the man on the street who wishes to be informed. A new edition of an address by Father Anselm Parker, O.S.B., on *Catholic Evidence Work*, gives us much interesting information concerning the movement. The address is highly commended by Cardinal Bourne and ten bishops, all of whom speak in the highest terms of the Catholic Evidence Guilds. (*Catholic Evidence Work*, An Introductory Address to Catholic Youth; Catholic Records Press, Exeter, England.)

The Catholic Evidence Guild was founded in the diocese of Westminster in 1918. Its first public meeting was held in Hyde Park later in the same year. There are now in London one hundred members who speak at forty places each week. The Hyde Park meetings last eleven hours in all with an average attendance of about five hundred. It is estimated that one of the Guilds addresses five thousand persons each week. Cardinal Bourne is quoted by Father Parker as speaking in words of high eulogy about this preaching of the laity under the direction of the bishop. We are informed that the Guilds depend on the willingness of Catholics to teach and the willingness of non-Catholics to listen. "So far the willingness of non-Catholics is by far the greater; the world without knows the Guild better and has a greater share in the work than our own people." The general aim is to press "the appeal of Catholic ideals upon the hearts and intellects of men, to give a helping hand to those struggling forward to the light, to confirm the faith of those who possess it, to give an outlet for whatever degree of apostolic spirit the laity possess." The principle that underlies the recruiting, training and organizing of speakers is "the mass production of competent outdoor exponents of Catholicism". A by-product of the movement is found in the wholesome effect of this training and experience upon the speakers. There are nearly fifty Guilds now active in England.

Another interesting effect in the same direction, but differing in method and scope, has been started in the United States. It is known as the Inquiry. (*The Fairfield Experiment*, The Story of One Episode in an Effort Toward a Better Understanding of Catholics by Protestants; The Inquiry, 129 East 52nd Street, New York City.) No name appears in the little pamphlet at hand. Those interested in the work as a laboratory experiment

selected Fairfield, Connecticut, a city of six thousand inhabitants, for its purpose. Fifteen members of the Congregational Church indicated willingness to coöperate. Eight meetings were held. A number of prepared questions were submitted. The answers indicated the nature of dislike and suspicion entertained against Catholics by members of the group. The tests that were submitted during the first six meetings brought to the surface a typical number of suspicions and misunderstandings. The seventh meeting was attended by a Catholic priest who dealt with all of the views that had come to expression. During the course of the experiment the members of the group made extensive use of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and of pamphlets which explained Catholic doctrine. A detailed account of the experiment was published in *The Commonweal,* 30 November and 7 December, 1927.

It is to be feared that at times definiteness, completeness and authority of Catholic doctrine will so satisfy the clerical mind as to make it in some degree indifferent to our historical background. The fuller range of clerical scholarship and sympathy includes familiarity with the essentials of Church history. This is particularly the case when historical scholarship is so active and so much has been done in the larger interpretation of the past. In view of the situation one welcomes cordially a pamphlet of eighty-two pages by the Jesuit Father Francis Woodlock of London. (*The Reformation and the Eucharist,* with a chapter on Anglican Prayer Book Revision. Sheed and Ward, 31 Pater Noster Row, E.C., 4 London.) The author takes occasion of present-day controversies in the Anglican Church and of the revision of the Book of the Common Prayer to set forth the identity of the present-day teaching of the Roman Catholic Church concerning the Blessed Sacrament with the teaching of all the Christian centuries. He also challenges the identity of the actual belief and practice of the Anglican Church with authentic Pre-Reformation belief. The principle that guides Father Woodlock in studying his case is the following.

"In any controversy as to the continuity of a Christian Church, doctrinal continuity must stand out as a primary test. The Church has a message of truth to hand on through the centuries, and a Church which claims to be infallible in uttering its message must not teach to-day a doctrine which contradicts its teaching of a thousand years ago."

"There may be — nay, in a living Church there must be—some doctrinal development, but that development, if legitimate, will only be a fuller and a clearer expression of the old truth or else an unfolding of truths which were implicitly contained in the former teaching and are now explicitly expressed."

While this principle is commonplace in Catholic teaching, it serves as a severe test which Anglican belief and devotion can hardly meet. The author concludes:

"The testimonies I have quoted make it sufficiently clear that the Pre-Reformation Church in England held substantially the same belief as is held by English Catholics to-day. That is to say, we are in doctrinal continuity with the Pre-Reformation Church. Can Anglicans make the same claim and support their claim by similar evidence for the centuries between the time of Cranmer and Pusey?"

Although he confines himself strictly to the historical and doctrinal position of the Anglican Church, his treatise is of great value as an illustration of the method by which we may fortify general Catholic belief by testimony of the historical Catholic ages.

The America Press has reprinted a number of Christmas poems which appeared originally in its pages. (*The Eternal Babe,* America Press.) Eighteen contributors are represented. The poems are short and their tone has caught the appealing intimacy and simplicity of Christmas with uniform skill.

The Macmillan Company brought out recently a volume of papers by many writers touching phases of international friendship. Archbishop Keane of Dubuque contributes one on "The

Essential Religious Basis of International Peace."

Father Basil Whelan, O.S.B., has just translated a volume of sermons on Duty by de Montgros under the title *The Duties of a Christian.* (B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.) The work contains sixteen chapters devoted to the discussion of as many aspects of duty. The translator has caught much of the fluency and spirit of the original French. The text follows the traditional line of formal Catholic teaching, but by bringing together into one volume discussions of all aspects of duty, its philosophy and axioms are set forth with excellent effect. The volume would serve admirably as the basis of a series of sermons on Duty.

The translator is naturally held to his text. Occasion may be taken, however, to call attention to the necessity of some readjustment of our conception of Christian duty. We are inclined to follow traditions and overlook new situations and new challenges to our sympathy and wisdom. Thus, for instance, if a child has a right to its health, someone has a duty in respect of it. If parents neglect the duty, who is to assume it? Social work, social reform, and new insight into personal and social problems are calling for a widened concept of duty toward society in order that the rights of the weaker classes may be safeguarded. It is to be feared that our literature on the question is retarded.

This problem of restating principles of Catholic life in a way to meet new situations appears in many other forms, notably in the instruction of our young as they face the larger freedom of modern life. Father Fulgence Meyer, O.F.M., has undertaken this task in *Youth's Pathfinder.* (Heart-to-Heart Chats with Catholic Young Men and Women, St. Francis Book Shop, Cincinnati.) The author is by no means content with abstract definitions. He takes up familiar traits of present-day youth, the unconventional freedom of association between the sexes, the views that are generally current, and he judges them in the light of Christian principles of conduct. No one can read the little volume and fail to understand the author. Nor can one successfully challenge his interpretations. There are unfortunately many of the young who fail to see the implications of our modern freedom. They fail also to see their own responsibility toward others as well as toward themselves. All such will find in Father Meyer's volume a practical and helpful interpretation of many of the problems of life. Pastors would do well to keep this little work in mind in recommending literature to the young.

Bishop Noll of Fort Wayne has recently published a little volume giving information concerning a very wide range of Catholic belief, policy and practice. (*Catholic Facts,* Our Sunday Visitor Press, Huntington.) A good index helps greatly in the use of the little book.

Books Received

THEOLOGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

CHRISTIAN SPIRITUALITY. By the Rev. P. Pourrat, Supérieur du Grand Séminaire de Lyon. Translated by W. H. Mitchell, M.A. Vol. III: Later Developments. Part I: From the Renaissance to Jansenism. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York. 1927. Pp. xii—405. Price, $4.50.

THE CURÉ D'ARS. St. Jean-Marie-Baptiste Vianney (1786-1859). According to the Acts of the Process of Canonization and numerous hitherto unpublished documents, by Abbé Francis Trochu. Translated by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B., of St. Mary's Abbey, Buckfast. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York. 1927. Pp. xxiii—583. Price, $7.00 *postpaid.*

ST. COLUMBAN. By the Count of Montalembert. English edition. With introduction, Notes and Critical Studies by the Rev. E. J. McCarthy, S.S.C. Society of St. Columban, St. Columbans, Nebraska; Navan, Ireland; or Essenden, Australia. 1927. Pp. xx—269. Price, $1.85.

WHAT IS HERESY? A Comparative Analysis of the Teaching of Protestant and Catholic Bibles on Heretics. By G. M. Vizenzinovich. John Murphy Co., Baltimore. 1927. Pp. x—130. Price, $1.50.

THE MAN WHO WAS NOBODY, or How St. Francis of Assisi Won the Heart of the World. By Antony Linneweber, O.F.M., author of *The Man Who Saw God*. Franciscan Friary, 133 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco. 1927. Pp. 187.

THE DUTIES OF A CHRISTIAN. By Gabriel de Montgros, Ph.D., D.D. Translated by Dom Basil Whelan, O.S.B. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. Price, $2.00.

MEDITATIONS FOR THE LAITY. By the Rev. Albert Rung. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. Price, $3.50.

THE JOURNEYS OF JESUS. Compiled from the Gospel Narrative. By Sister James Stanislaus, of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, St. Louis, Mo. With illustrations after Bida. Book One. Ginn & Co., Boston, New York, Chicago, London, Atlanta, Dallas, Columbus, San Francisco. 1927. Pp. xi—201.

PROVIDENCE ET LIBRE ARBITRE. Par A. d'Alès, Professeur de Théologie à l'Institut catholique de Paris. Gabriel Beauchesne, Paris. 1927. Pp. vii—321. Prix, 15 *fr.* 40 *franco*.

MORAL SCIENCE. A New Text-Book of Moral Instruction and Development of Character on the Common Basis of the Existence of God. Revised and improved edition. Sisters of Good Shepherd, "Somerford", Adyar P. O., Madras, S., S. India; Messrs. Higginbothams, Mount Rd., Madras; Messrs. B. X. Furtado & Co., Kalbadevie Rd., Bombay. 1927. Pp. xxi—335. Price, *Rs.* 2.

A PLEA FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF MORAL SCIENCE INTO OUR SCHOOLS FOR ALL ALIKE. By the Right Rev. Mgr. A. M. Teixeira, V.G., Domestic Prelate to His Holiness, Administrator, Mylapore Diocese. Second print—with a few additions. St. Joseph Orphanage Press, Chingleput. 1927. Pp. 13.

THE SEAL OF CONFESSION. By the Rev. Bertrand Kurtscheid, O.F.M., D.D. Authorized translation by the Rev. F. A. Marks. Edited by Arthur Preuss. B. Herder Book Co.: St. Louis, Mo. 1927. Pp. 242. Price, $2.50.

PSYCHOLOGIA SPECULATIVA in usum scholarum, auctore Josepho Fröbes, S.J. Tomus II. B. Herder Book Co.: St. Louis, Mo. 1927. Pp. 344. Price, $2.00.

GODWARD, or The Rugged Path of Joys and Sorrows. By the Rev. Frederick A. Houck. B. Herder Book Co.: St. Louis, Mo. 1927. Pp. 267. Price, $2.00.

THE SILENT ANCHORITE IN THE TABERNACLE. Meditations on Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. By the Rev. F. X. Esser, S.J. Adapted from the German by Kathleen Jackson. B. Herder Book Co.: St. Louis, Mo. 1927. Pp. 192. Price, $1.75.

LEGISLATION ON THE SACRAMENTS IN THE NEW CODE OF CANON LAW (Lib. III, Can. 726-1011, 1144-1153). By the Very Rev. H. A. Ayrinhac, S.S., D.D., D.C.L., President of St. Patrick's Seminary, Menlo Park, California; Professor of Moral Theology and Canon Law. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London. 1928. Pp. xxv—416. Price, $3.00.

LECCIONES DE APOLOGETICA para Uso de los Cursos Superiores de Religion. Por el Presbitero, Nicolas Marin Negueruela, Professor de Teologia y Apologetica. Obra premiada por la Universidad de Chile. 2ª edicion refundida. Tomo I: Parte I, Espiritualismo. Tomo II: Parte II, Cristianismo; Parte III, Catolicismo. Tipografia Catolica Casals, Barcelona. 1927. Pp. xx—279 y 438. Precio, 12.50 pesetas.

HISTORICAL.

THE CARDINAL OF CHARITIES. An Appreciation of His Eminence, Patrick Cardinal Hayes, Archbishop of New York. Edited and published by the Parish Visitors of Mary Immaculate, St. Joseph's Convent, 328 West 71st Street, New York City. 1927. Pp. 317.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF BISHOP MCQUAID. Prefaced with the History of Catholic Rochester Before His Episcopate. By Frederick J. Zwierlein, D.Sc.M.H. (Louvain), author of *Religion in New Netherlands*. Vol. III. (*Recueil de Travaux* publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, Université de Louvain, 2me Série, 8me Fascicule.) Art Print Shop, 77 St. Paul St., Rochester; Desclee & Compagni, Roma; Librairie Universitaire, A. Uytspruyst, Louvain. 1927. Pp. xii—513.

KEY TO PRACTICE TESTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By Sister Mary Celeste, Department of History, St. Xavier College, Chicago, Ills. Macmillan Co., New York. 1927. Pp. 215.

MARYGROVE COLLEGE. Eighty-second Anniversary. Souvenir Volume. Marygrove College, Detroit. 1927. Pp. 85.

SOVIET INTRIGUES IN CHINA. Mischievous Interference in Internal Affairs. Publicity Bureau for South China, Hong Kong. 1927. Pp. xxiii—96.

LITURGICAL.

MISSALE ROMANUM PARVUM Continens Missas Dominicarum Eorumque Festorum quae in Dominica Occurrere Possunt. Pp. 567. Excerpta ex Missali Romano ad Missale Parvum. Pp. 40. Ratisbonae, Neo-Eboraci et Cincinnati: Sumptibus et Typis Friderici Pustet. 1927. Price, $1.75.

MANUALE RITUUM. By the Rev. P. Aurelius Bruegge, O.F.M. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. Price, $1.75.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AD JESUM PER MARIAM. A Book of Religious Poems. By the Rev. Placidus M. Endler. Poth Print Shop, Poth, Texas. 1927. Pp. 52.

VEST POCKET BOOK OF CATHOLIC FACTS. By the Right Rev. John Francis Noll, D.D., Fort Wayne, Indiana. Our Sunday Visitor Press, Huntington, Indiana. 1927. Pp. 248. Price, $1.00.

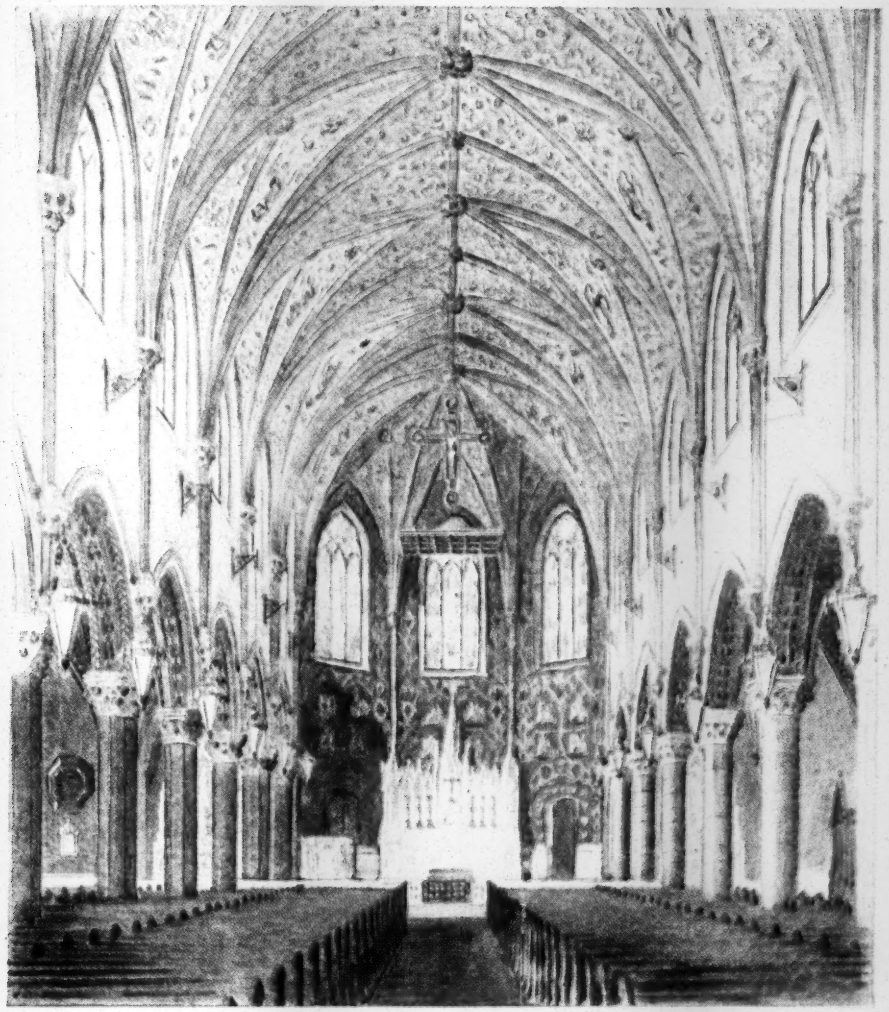
HOW TO RUN A C. T. S. CASE. By Mrs. John Boland. (*S95.*) Catholic Truth Society, London, S.W. 1. Pp. 24.

IRISH FIRESIDE HOURS. By William O'Brien, author of *When We Were Boys*. M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin. 1927. Pp. 238. Price, 5/– *net*.

FIRST READER. By Sister Mary Henry, O.S.D., Sinsinawa, Wis. Illustrated by Samuel B. Wylie. (*The Rosary Readers.*) Ginn & Co., Boston, New York, Chicago, London, Atlanta, Dallas, Columbus, San Francisco. 1927. Pp. v—130.

THE CELIBATE FATHER. By Will W. Whalen. B. Herder Book Co.: St. Louis, Mo. 1927. Pp. 246. Price, $2.00.

WHAT PRIESTS NEVER TELL. By Will W. Whalen. B. Herder Book Co.: St. Louis, Mo. 1927. Pp. 214. Price, $2.00.



Rev. George L. Fitzpatrick, *Rector*

THE Church of the Holy Cross, Harrison, N. J., was decorated by us more than twenty years ago and again last year. On the latter occasion, we also installed a modern and efficient lighting system. The walls, serving as a background and setting for the stations and the windows, are left plain. Their texture and tone, however, are varied and sympathetic. The ceiling is a warm, soft gray wherein are painted casual and gracefully meandering gothic foliated forms. Each bay has a carefully worked in angel depicted as glorifying God. These are rendered in soft, jewel-like pastel shades which blend gently into the background. The sanctuary is effectively accentuated by treatment in a deep maroon on which are worked out an instructive and symbolic set of miniature murals relating to the sacrifice of the Mass.

The decoration is rightfully kept subservient to the architecture. There is no doubt that had the interior been left without color decoration, it would have been barren and cold. This interior is especially impressive during the early and late hours of the day.

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THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF BISHOP MCQUAID. Prefaced with the History of Catholic Rochester Before His Episcopate. By Frederick J. Zwierlein, D.Sc.M.H. (Louvain), author of *Religion in New Netherlands*. Vol. III. (*Recueil de Travaux* publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, Université de Louvain, 2me Série, 8me Fascicule.) Art Print Shop, 77 St. Paul St., Rochester; Desclee & Compagni, Roma; Librairie Universitaire, A. Uytspruyst, Louvain. 1927. Pp. xii—513.

KEY TO PRACTICE TESTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By Sister Mary Celeste, Department of History, St. Xavier College, Chicago, Ills. Macmillan Co., New York. 1927. Pp. 215.

MARYGROVE COLLEGE. Eighty-second Anniversary. Souvenir Volume. Marygrove College, Detroit. 1927. Pp. 85.

SOVIET INTRIGUES IN CHINA. Mischievous Interference in Internal Affairs. Publicity Bureau for South China, Hong Kong. 1927. Pp. xxiii—96.

LITURGICAL.

MISSALE ROMANUM PARVUM Continens Missas Dominicarum Eorumque Festorum quae in Dominica Occurrere Possunt. Pp. 567. Excerpta ex Missali Romano ad Missale Parvum. Pp. 40. Ratisbonae, Neo-Eboraci et Cincinnati: Sumptibus et Typis Friderici Pustet. 1927. Price, $1.75.

MANUALE RITUUM. By the Rev. P. Aurelius Bruegge, O.F.M. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. Price, $1.75.

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IRISH FIRESIDE HOURS. By William O'Brien, author of *When We Were Boys*. M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin. 1927. Pp. 238. Price, 5/– *net*.

FIRST READER. By Sister Mary Henry, O.S.D., Sinsinawa, Wis. Illustrated by Samuel B. Wylie. (*The Rosary Readers.*) Ginn & Co., Boston, New York, Chicago, London, Atlanta, Dallas, Columbus, San Francisco. 1927. Pp. v—130.

THE CELIBATE FATHER. By Will W. Whalen. B. Herder Book Co.: St. Louis, Mo. 1927. Pp. 246. Price, $2.00.

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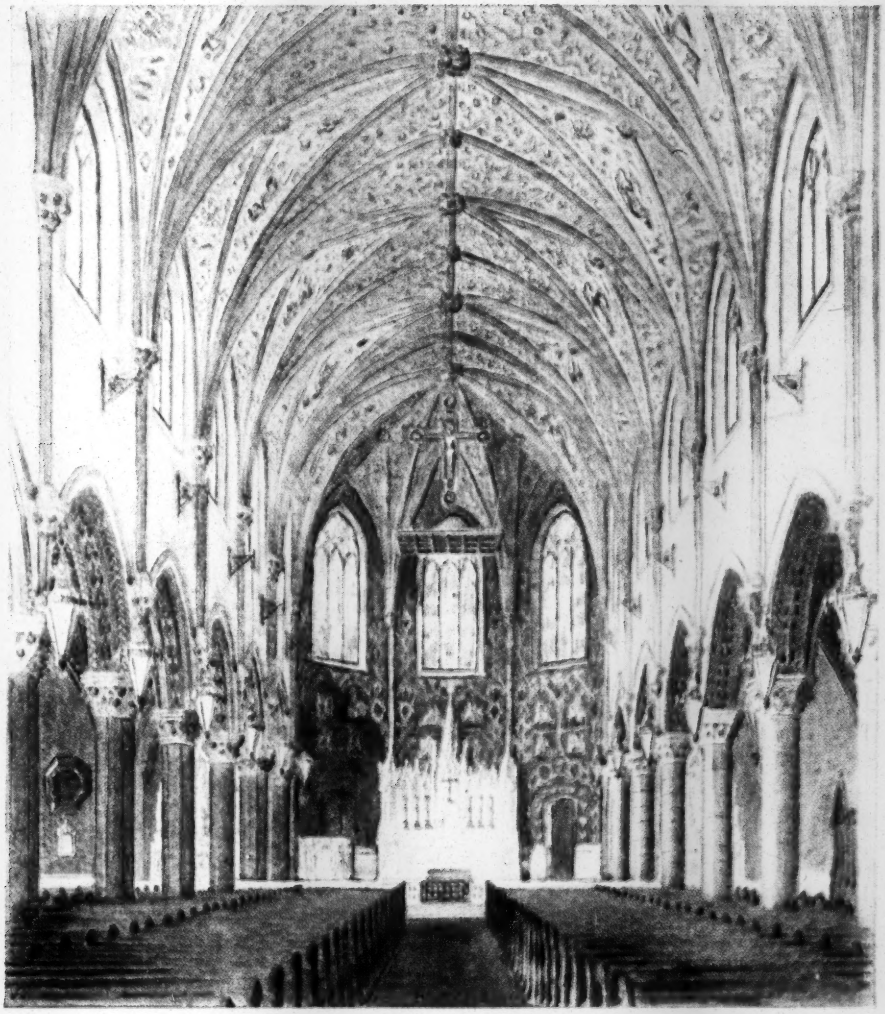

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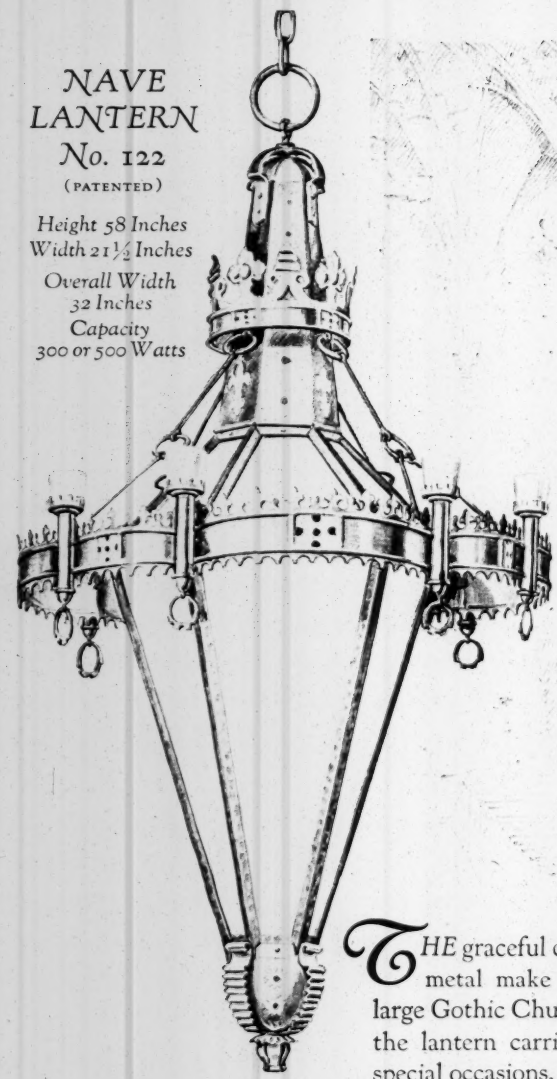

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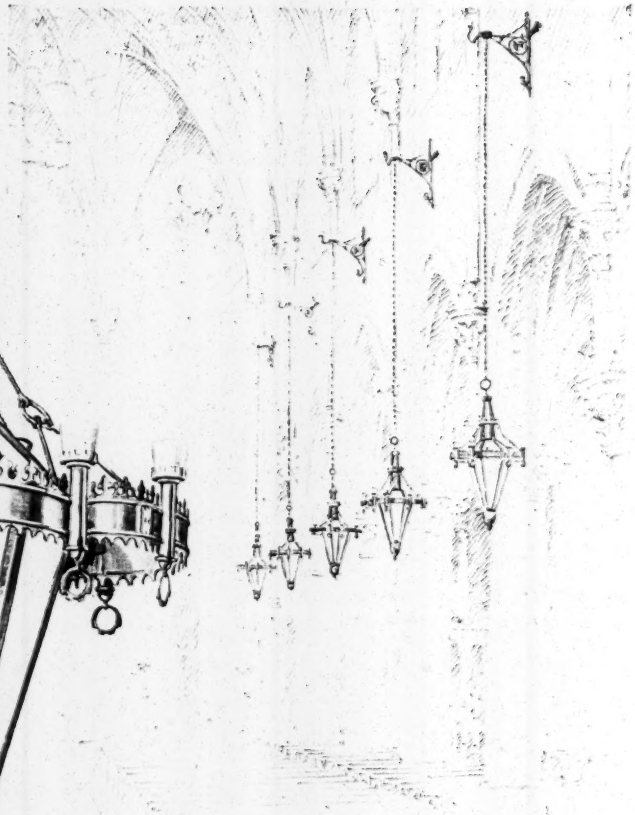

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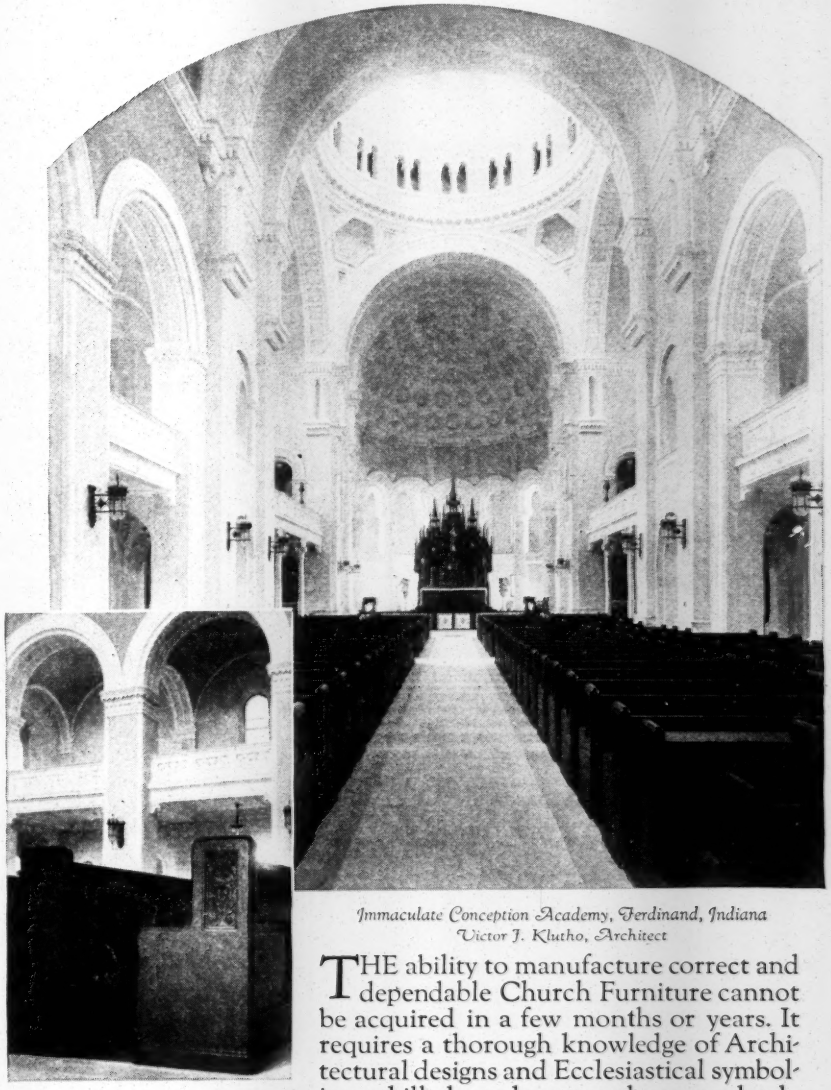

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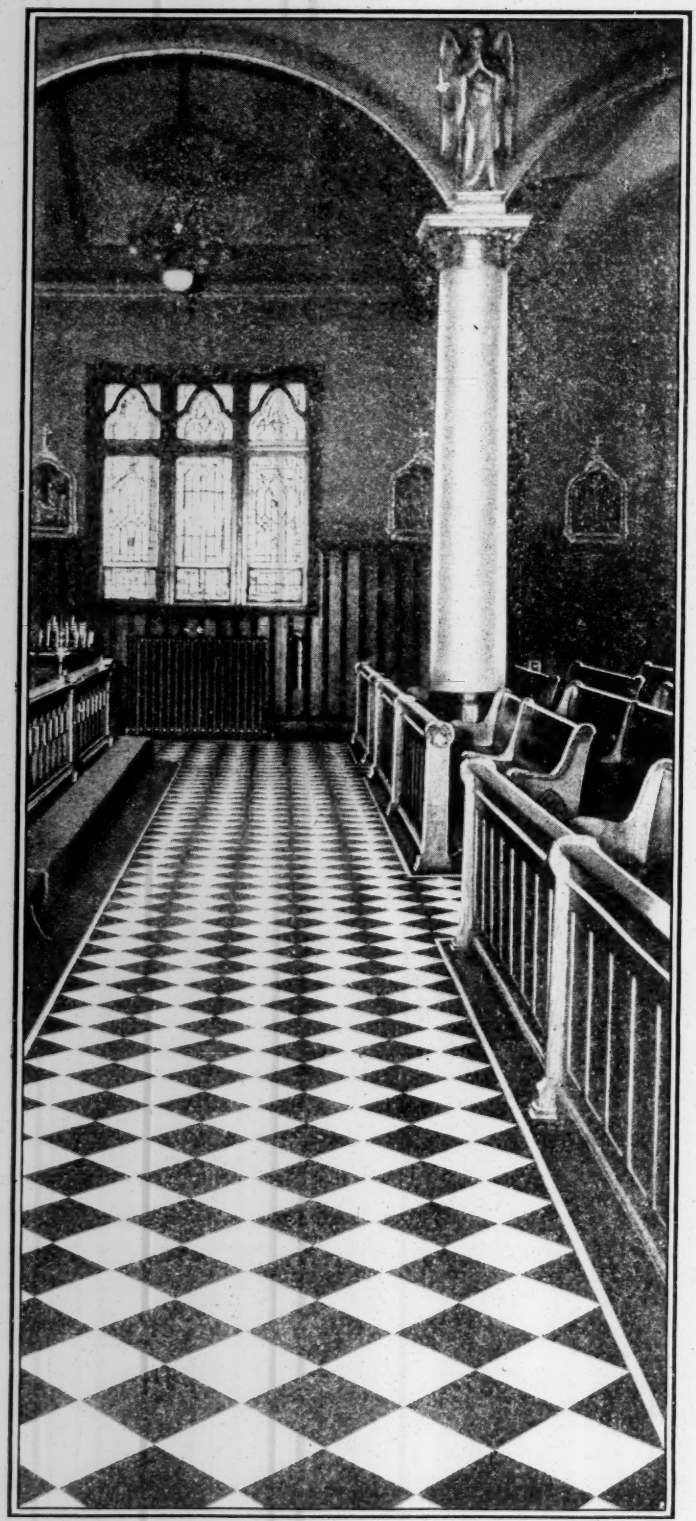

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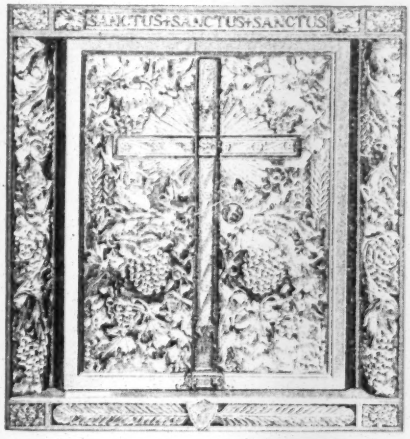

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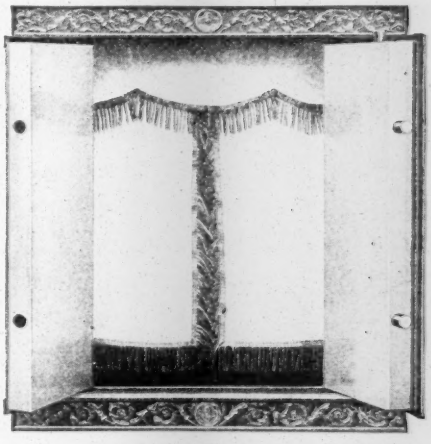

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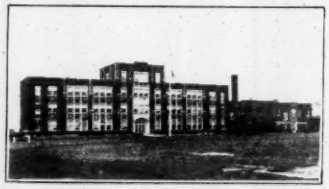

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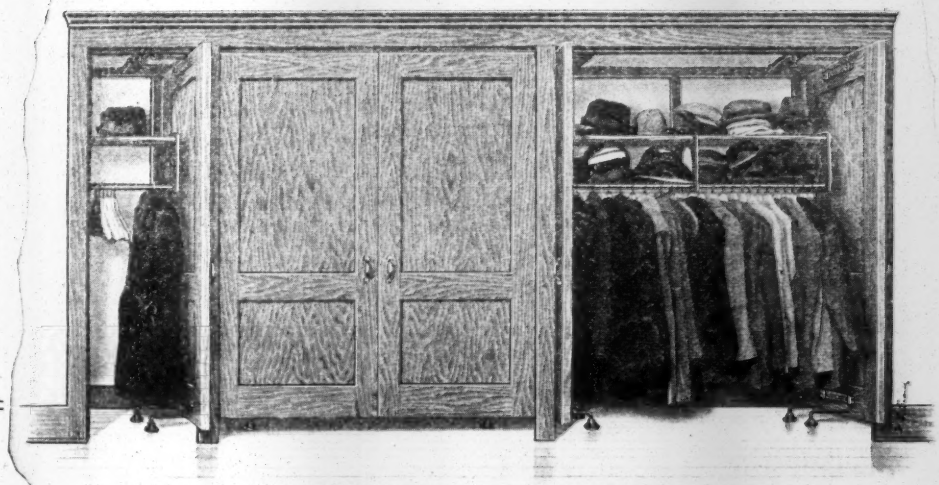

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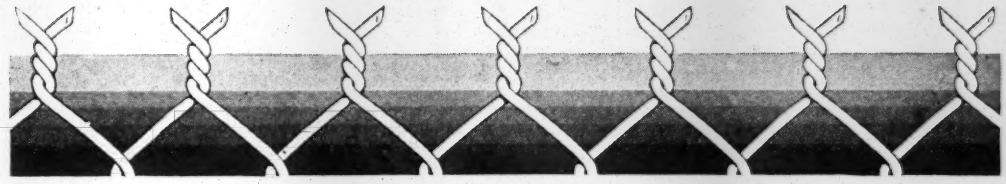

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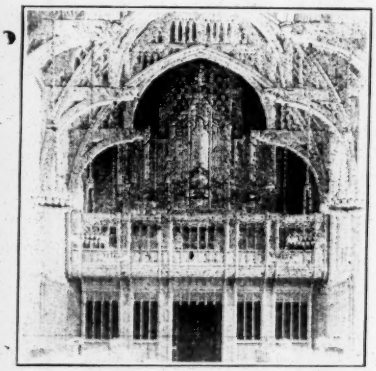

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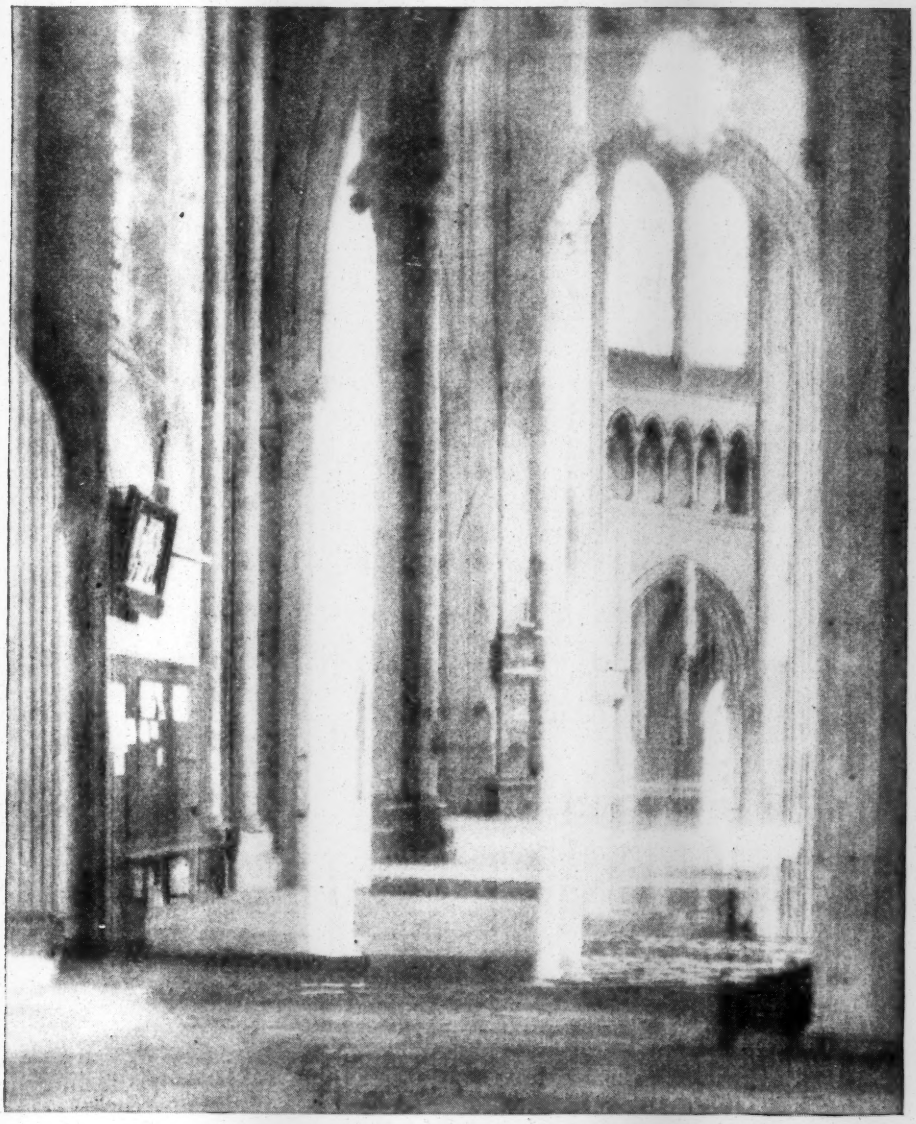

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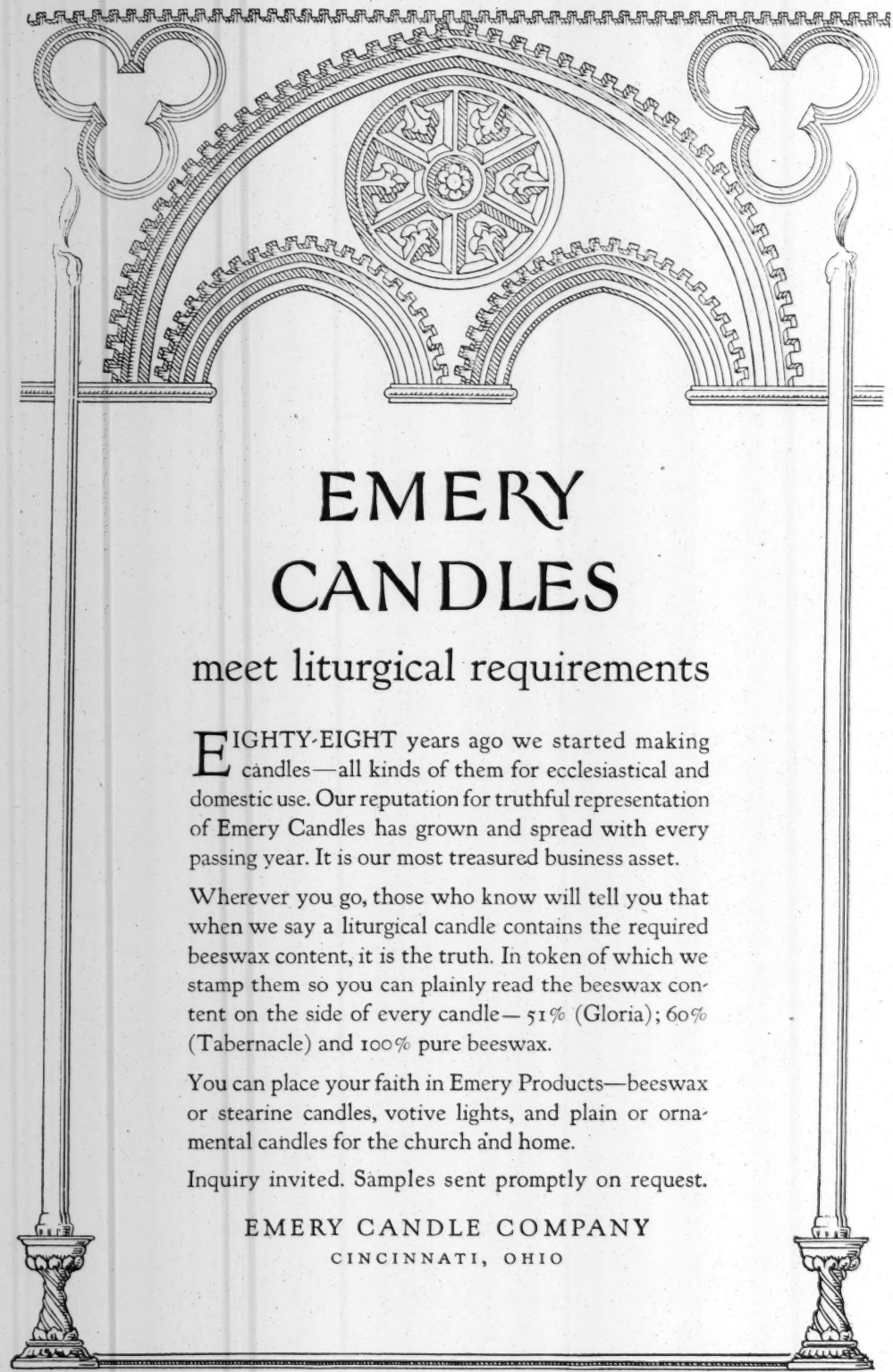

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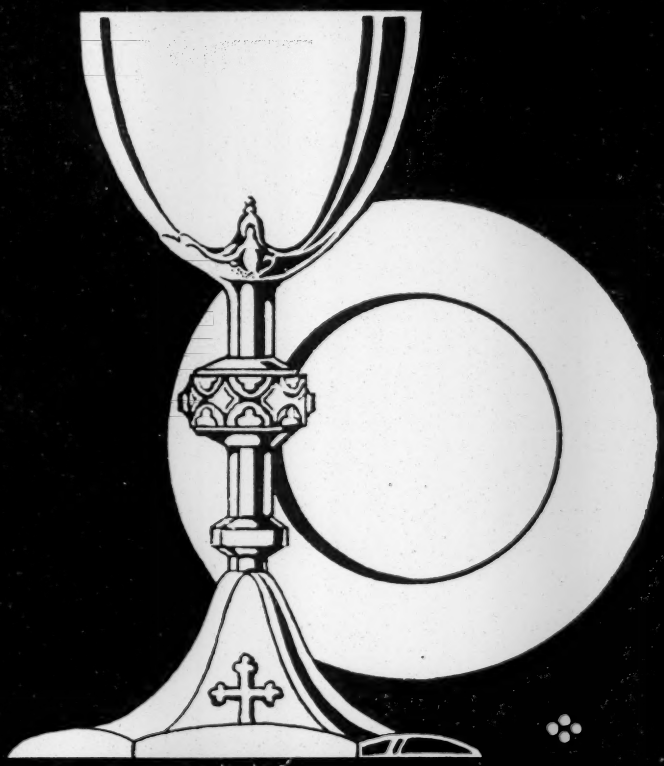

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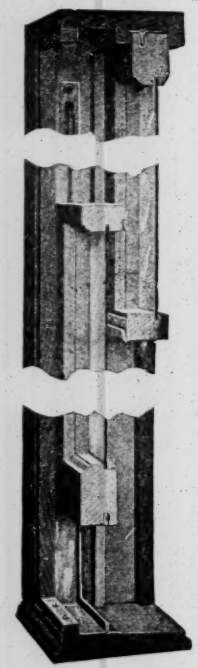

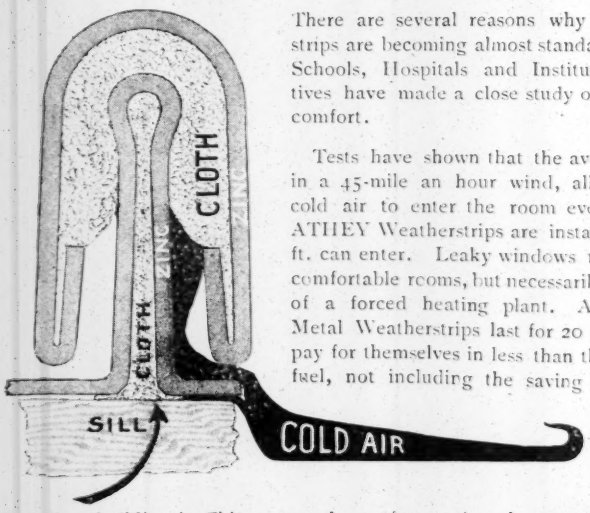

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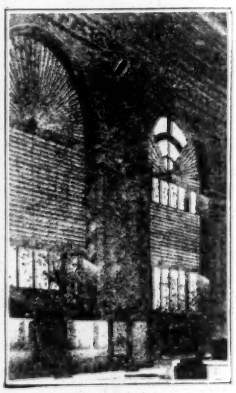

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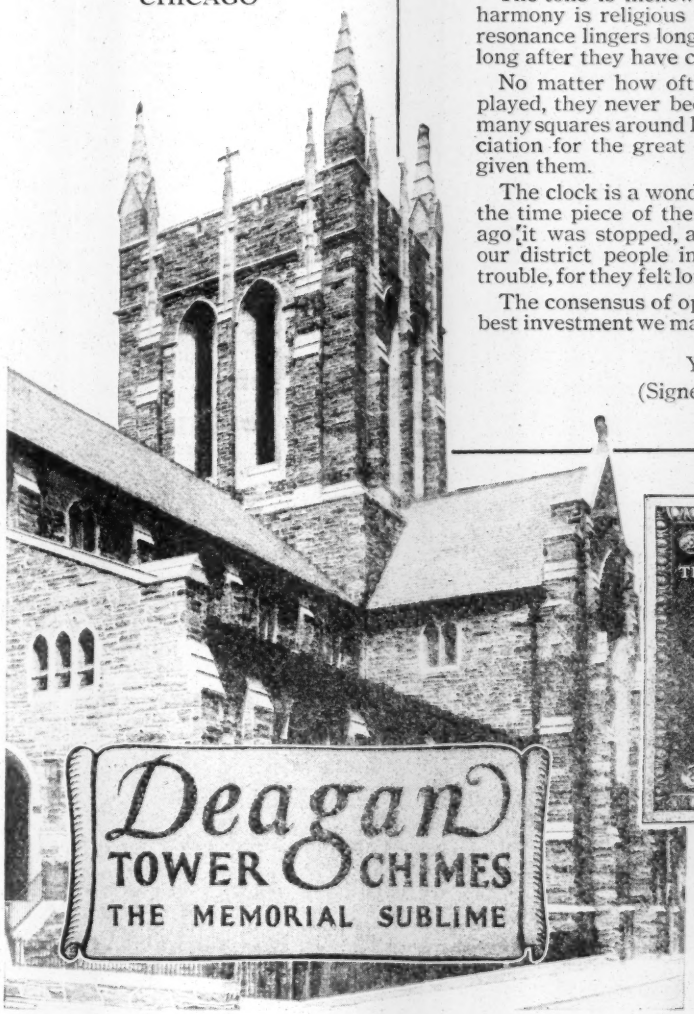

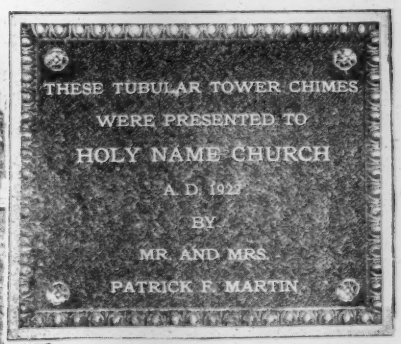

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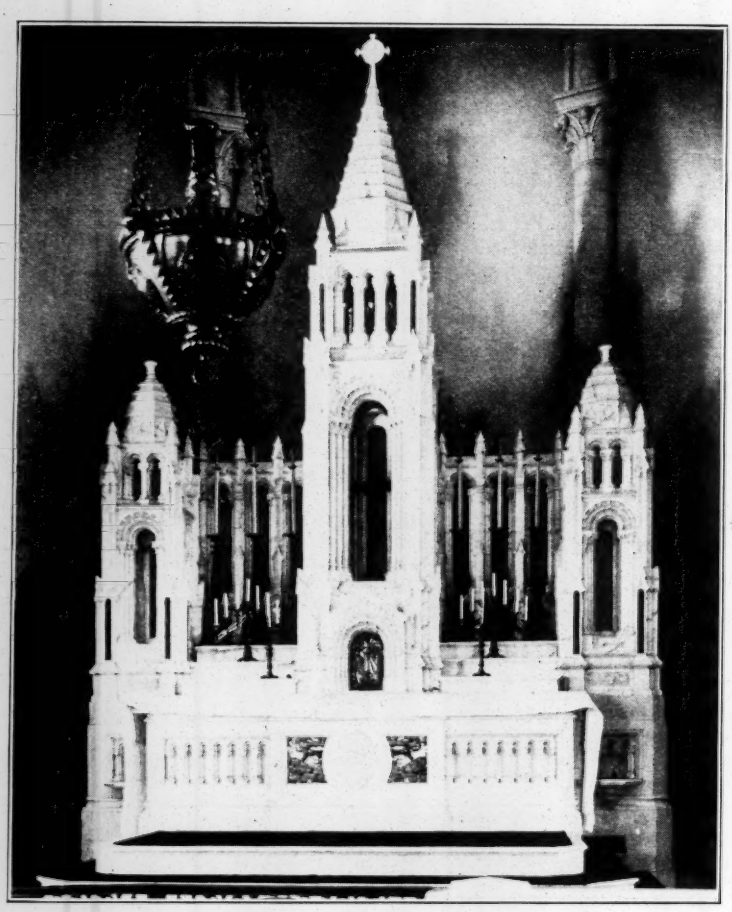

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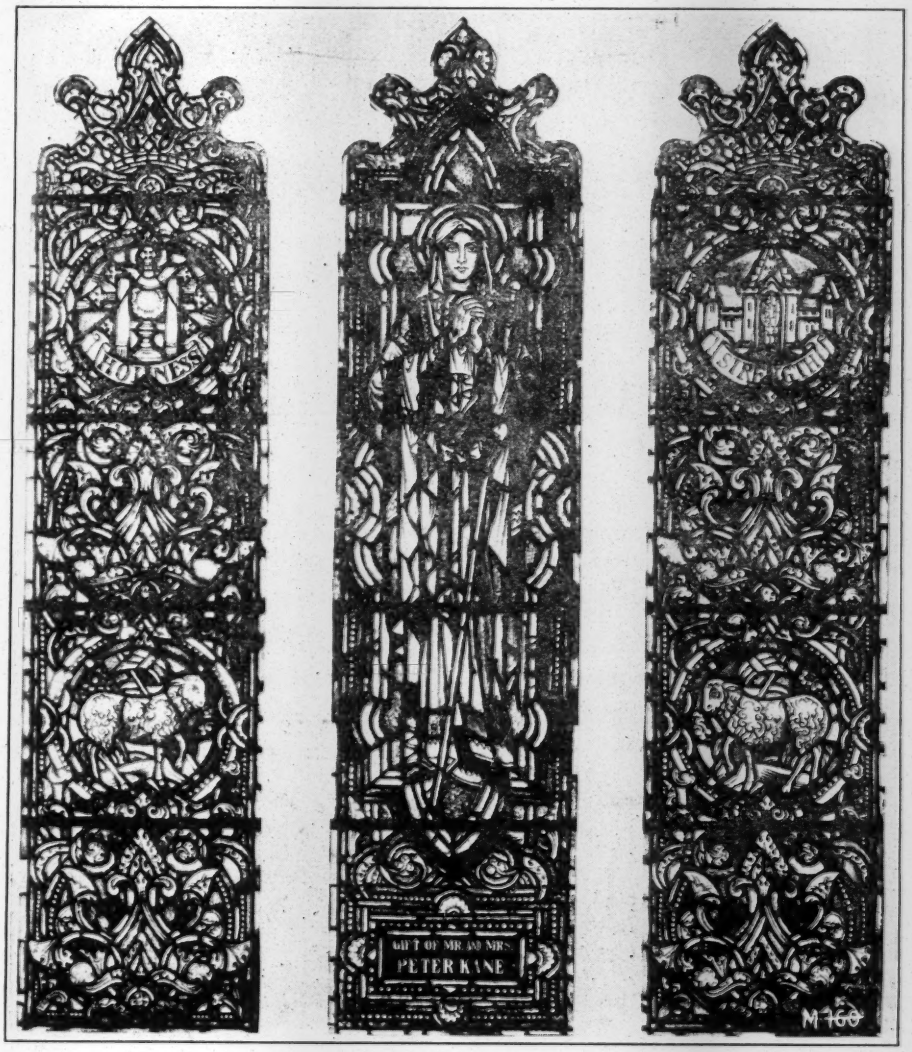

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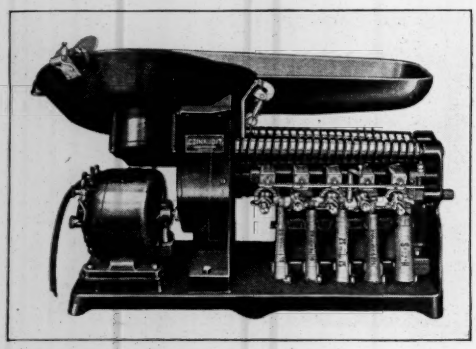

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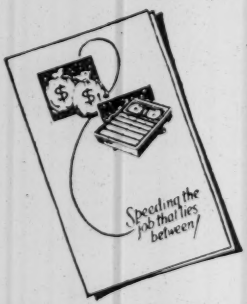

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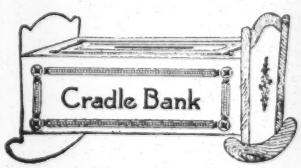

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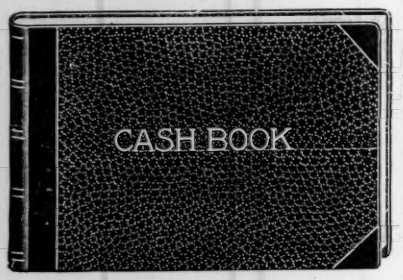

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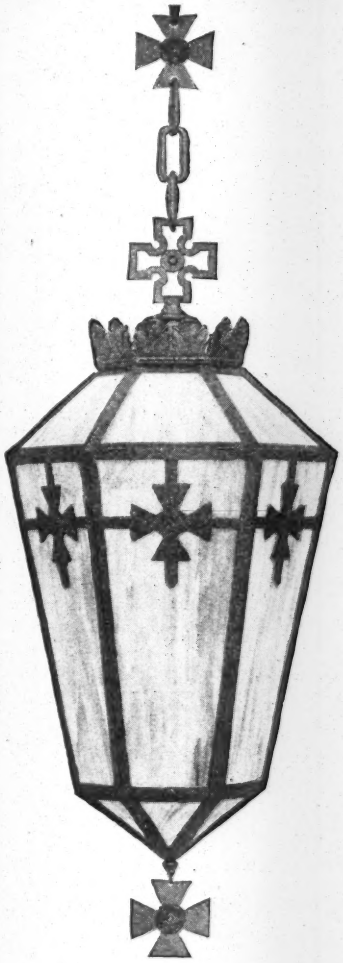

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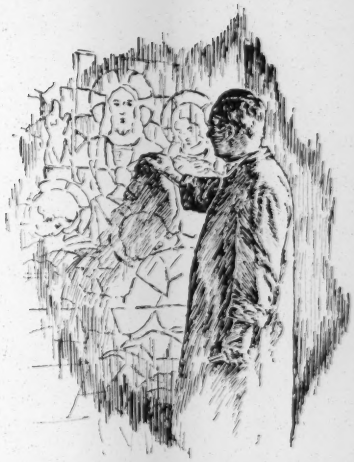

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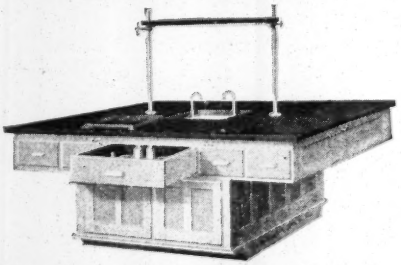

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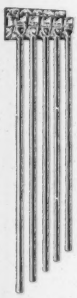

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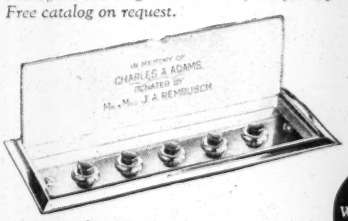

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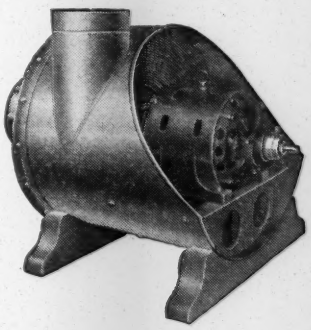

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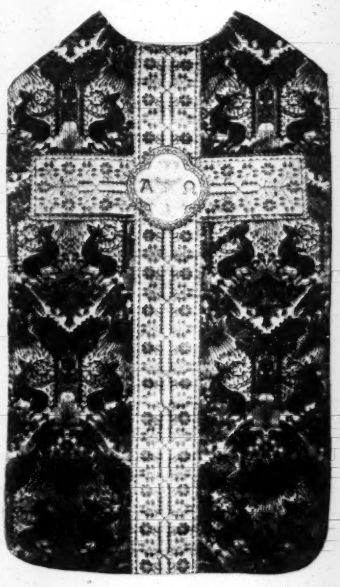

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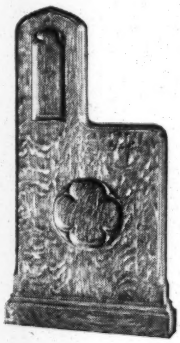

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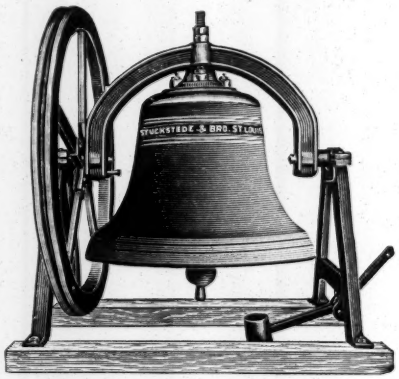

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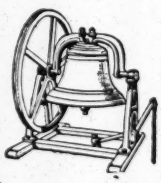

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Formerly Van Duzen & Tift

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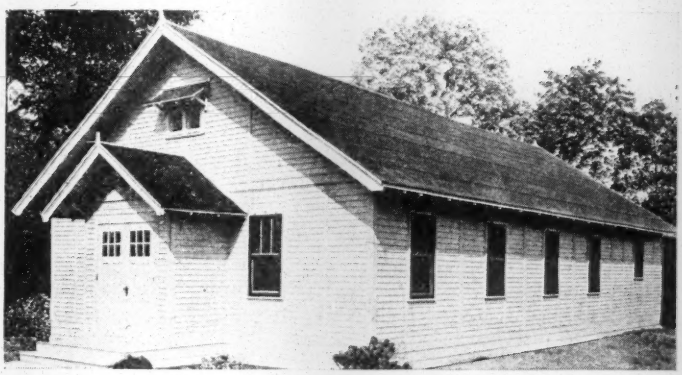

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CIRCLE Ⓐ CHURCHES

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Roofing Tiles

View of Hatch, Sidewalk Doors closed and automatically locked.

As hoisting head is raised. Sidewalk Doors automatically open — alarm bell rings.

Doors opened and automatically locked. Operator ascending from ladder to sidewalk.

Operator "hooking" G&G Swing-Bail Hoisting Can without leaving sidewalk.

ONE Man Instead of 3 or 4

Complete Safety with Speed

An ideal method of ash removal

THESE photographs show how easily and quickly ashes can be removed when G&G Telescopic Hoist equipment is used. With the Model B Hand Power and the Model D Electric Hoists, one or two men can easily do the work of 3 or 4. There are also G&G Hoists without overhead cranes, both hand power and electric, that permit of *one man* doing all the work.

The Overhead Crane model illustrated permits truck to drive up alongside of Hoist, and ashes dumped into truck without rehandling at grade. Sturdy construction of all models assures long years of service. Electric models use surprisingly little current, one cent paying for the raising and lowering of many cans. Write for catalog.

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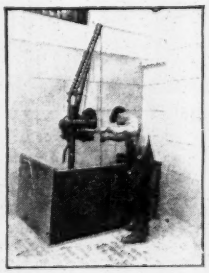
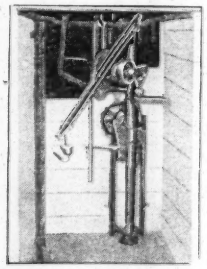
The G&G REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

Telescopic Hoist

with Automatic Gear Shifting Brake Device and Silencer



Depositing ashes directly into truck after Overhead Crane is swung around on ball-bearings.



Hoist in area—compact—out of the way. Doors automatically locked—cannot be opened from street.

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